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American Journalism

A Journal of Media History

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Alan Bjerga

Book Reviews

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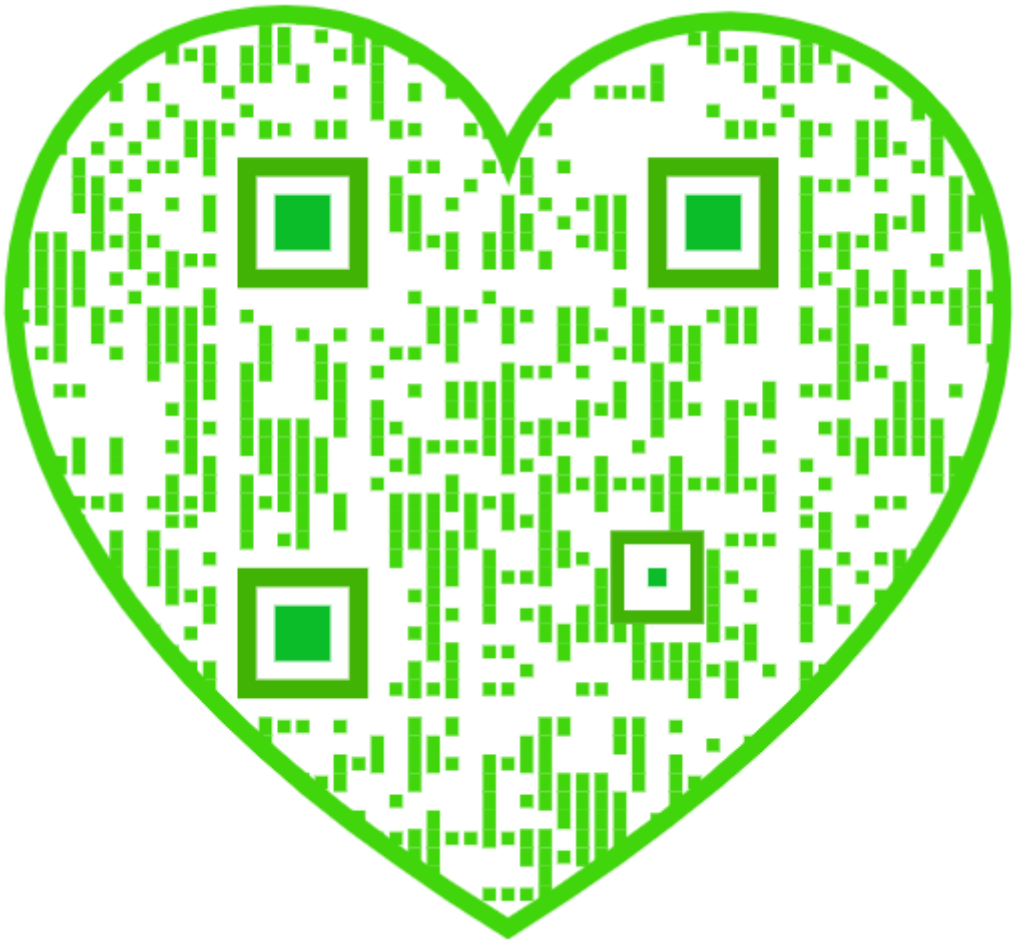

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Editorial Purpose:

American Journalism, a publication of the American Journalism Historians Association, publishes articles, book reviews, and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political, or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising, and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; and theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history.

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For purposes of written research papers and publications, the term history shall be seen as a continuous and connected process emphasizing but not necessarily confined to subjects of American mass communications. It should be viewed NOT in the context of perception of the current decade, but as part of a unique, significant, and time-conditioned human past. Papers will be evaluated in terms of the author's systematic, critical, qualitative, and quantitative investigation of all relevant, available sources with a focus on written, primary documents but not excluding current literature and interviews. The narrative element (with a logical beginning, ending, and thematic unity) should be the core of written historical submissions offered to create meaning in our lives.

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Manuscripts should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th ed., and should not exceed the recommended maximum length of 25 pages not including tables and footnotes. Research manuscripts are blind refereed by three reviewers. *American Journalism* will accept only manuscripts that have not been published or scheduled for publication elsewhere. Manuscripts will not be returned to authors.

The journal is produced on Macintosh computers using *PageMaker 6.5* and *Microsoft Office 98* software. Authors whose manuscripts are accepted for publication are asked to submit their work on a PC or Macintosh disk, formatted in *Microsoft Word 5.0* or *6.0.1*.

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Editor's Note

by Karla K. Gower, Editor

I am honored to have been selected as the new editor of *American Journalism*. I thank the previous editor, Shirley Biagi of California State University, and her assistant Timi Poeppelman, for their three years of outstanding service to the journal and to the American Journalism Historians Association. I also wish to thank their predecessors, Wallace Eberhardt, John Pauly, Gary Whitby, and Wm. David Sloan, for the standard of excellence they set for the journal. I appreciate the faith the association has in me to uphold that standard.

I extend my deepest gratitude to the reviewers who have worked tirelessly and with great enthusiasm over the years to ensure *American Journalism* is the premier journal in mass media history. The journal simply could not exist without their efforts.

I also want to thank my department chair, Bill Gonzenbach, and my dean, E. Culpepper Clark, of the College of Communication and Information Sciences at The University of Alabama for their encouragement and support of my application for the editorship and their unfailing support of me and my historical research. I also wish to thank David Sloan for his support and his faith in my abilities as a researcher and as an editor.

I believe the primary role of a journal editor is to maintain the editorial purpose of the journal as set by the association. The editorial purpose of *American Journalism* is to advance media history and the history of communication in general. Working within that purpose, my objective over the next four years is to consolidate *American Journalism*'s position as the premier journal for media history, not just within the confines of AJHA or journalism departments, but among all historians.

To be the premier journal in media history, *American Journalism* must first be the best, only then will others come to see it as the best. Thus, to reach the objective, the journal must receive quality submissions, have committed reviewers, contain timely reviews of relevant books, be published on a regular schedule, and be promoted to historians across disciplines. Not all

of these have been accomplished with this issue. But my pledge to the association is that I will do my best during my tenure as editor to achieve each of them.

I encourage you to submit your manuscripts to *American Journalism*. I also encourage submissions of short essays on historical issues and methodology that foster dialogue and debate on what it is we do, how we do it, and why.

Feel free to contact me if I can assist you in any way with the process. I look forward to the next four years.

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Whose History Does Journalism Tell? Considering Women's Absence from the Story of the Century

by Carolyn Kitch

This study examines the representation of women in news media that summarized the twentieth century: Time *magazine's series of the "top 100" people, and the ABC News series* The Century, *on the era's most important events. Their content suggests that, even after twenty-five years of feminism and media criticism, what Gaye Tuchman called the "symbolic annihilation" of women continues in American media. In an early work of feminist media scholarship, Catherine Covert argued that historians told the story of journalism's past in ways that reflected men's rather than women's experience, emphasizing winning over failure, individuals over groups, and progress over recurrence. This article contends that journalists have used much the same model to tell the twentieth-century American story, a tale from which women are largely missing.*

Three decades ago, the mass-media representation of women was a main concern of the second wave of the American women's rights movement, as feminist critics saw women portrayed in media in limited roles—or not at all. A similar complaint came from female scholars during the 1970s, and in a now-classic essay, sociologist Gaye Tuchman contended that the media effected a "symbolic annihilation" of women by stereotyping or ignoring them.[1] A large body of criticism published since then has made similar arguments, creating a discus-

Carolyn Kitch is an assistant professor of journalism at Temple University, where she is also affiliated faculty in women's studies and American studies (ckitch@temple.edu). An earlier version of this article recevied the inaugural Maurine Beasley Award for Research in Women's History at the 1999 American Journalism Historians Association Conference.

sion in both the academic and popular press that has prompted media reform. Yet by the mid-1990s, noted legal scholar Deborah Rhode, only "partial progress" had been made on this front.[2]

This study examines the representation of women in American media that took on the task not only of reporting the news, but of summarizing the entire twentieth century. That work—*Time* magazine's six-part series of the "top 100" people of the century (including its "Person of the Century") and ABC News' six-part television series, *The Century*, on the era's most important events—came from news organizations that are seen by the public as authoritative. And it appeared at a time when journalists increasingly claimed a public role once reserved for historians. This article examines current media as a way of studying not the history of journalism, but the journalism of history.

As the twentieth century drew to a close, journalistic media were at the forefront of cultural critics pronouncing its meaning. Magazine and television media in particular produced summary reports and promoted them as "keepsake" magazines, books, and videos that readers and viewers could save as records of the past. The fact that millions of Americans did precisely that is what makes it important that historians, especially those who study journalism, consider the cultural function of summary journalism. If news is the first draft of history, then, at the end of a century, history is the last draft of news, a "revision" in the broadest sense—a conclusive journalistic reassessment and repackaging of what was seen as newsworthy in the past.

Previous coverage is indeed a primary source with which such a "final" story is constructed (at the ends of years, decades, and eras, as well as centuries). As Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang have noted, "the past to which most of us, including journalists, have all too ready recourse consists of images in the public domain."[3] Over time, certain of those images survive through repetition and personalization: "In order not to forget [its] past," writes Robert Bellah, a social group constantly "retell[s] its story, its constitutive narrative, and in so doing, it offers examples of the men and women who have embodied and exemplified the meaning of the community."[4] While this occurs in different ways throughout culture, "[t]he documentary style of journalists' work gives them a unique authority in telling the story of the past," notes Jill Edy.[5]

Even as it is received as objective truth, that story is told in the first-person plural, defining American life by explaining who "we" are, where we have been, and where we are going. It is meant to be not just preserved but retold, and that is its greatest significance. Summary journalism creates and conveys not only "history," but also collective memory, a phenomenon Barbie Zelizer describes as "a graphing of the past as it is used for present aims, a vision in bold relief of the past as it is woven into the present and the future."[6]

This form of journalism has double representational significance in its messages about gender: it assigns a historical place to women, and it reveals contemporary and continuing notions about them. It also has a double significance for media scholarship. When journalists act as historians, their work offers an interesting parallel to that of some historians who write about journalism. In 1981, Catherine Covert argued that journalism historians told the story of the profession's past in ways that reflected men's rather than women's experience, emphasizing winning over failure, individuals over groups, and progress over recurrence.[7] This article argues that journalists have used much the same model to tell the twentieth-century American story—a tale from which women are largely missing.

Scholarly Perspectives: Rhetoric versus Reflection

The media's portrayal of women during the twentieth century has been the focus of a great deal of academic and popular criticism. Scholars including Terry Hynes, Martha Banta, Jeanine Basinger, and Jennifer Scanlon have studied media of the earlier decades,[8] while others, such as Molly Haskell and Lois Banner, have surveyed popular-culture imagery throughout the century.[9] Most studies in this area have considered women's mass-media representation during the latter half of the century, around the second wave of the women's rights movement. Among them are bestsellers such as Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* and Susan Faludi's *Backlash*, with other important work by Kathryn Weibel, Susan Douglas, and Bonnie Dow.[10]

Scholars studying gender imagery in film, advertising, and fictional television shows have employed a number of theoretical lenses, some seeing these media as disseminators of cultural and political ideology, and others using semiotic analysis to read a multitude of meanings, including oppositional messages, in media imagery.[11] Yet in studying journalism, many historians continue to embrace what Tuchman called "the reflection hypothesis," a model in which media serve as a mirror held up to the real world, merely reflecting societal events and values.[12] Such a scholarly perspective dovetails with journalists' presentation of news as a form of public record and historical documentation. This article is based, instead, on the notion that journalism is a form of cultural production, a process of (to use cultural critic Raymond Williams' terms) selection and interpretation.[13] Such work is accomplished through representational and narrative choices in reporting.

These strategies can be analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively, and this study does both. It draws partly on the model of the "Women, Men and Media" annual reports issued by M. Junior Bridge, which have tracked the representation of women in news as reporters, as sources, and as subjects.[14] This analysis counts women the same way—a methodological choice

meant not to ignore Covert's point about what qualifies as historically significant, but rather to create a systematic way of noting how often, and in what roles, women appear in the "history" that journalists tell. It then adds the qualitative method of rhetorical analysis, an examination of not just what is reported, but also how that information is presented and what is left out. It pays particular attention to symbolism, considering Jean Ward's argument that journalists describe women as something "other" than the writer or the reader. Ward contends that news media primarily mention women as relational (wives, mothers, daughters of male newsmakers) and as physical (stereotypes in which character is revealed through appearance); she also notes the frequent conflation of gender and race (as in reporting on "women and minorities," a single group that exists in relation to white men).[15]

The Two Series: "Who Mattered and Why"

Both of the series studied here were widely seen and were multimedia undertakings. The special issues of *Time*—which leads the American newsmagazine market with a paid weekly circulation of 4.07 million[16]—yielded television programs on the CBS network, and its "top 100" profiles were reprinted as a book.[17] Readers who visited the magazine's Web site could express their opinions about the profile series, which began in April 1998 and concluded in June 1999, and about its choice of the "Person of the Century," whose selection also was debated in *Time*-sponsored public forums throughout the country.[18] ABC similarly used its Webster to solicit viewers' reactions to its own series, which aired in March and April 1999, and then repackaged the six episodes for sale as a videotape set. With its focus on individual events, that series took a somewhat different approach than its survey-like source, the bestselling book *The Century*, though ABC anchor Peter Jennings, the book's co-author, provided authorial continuity. This article focuses on the *Time* magazine series and the televised version of *The Century* to examine a similar undertaking in two forms of journalism, each of which is presented as a news rather than an entertainment medium (and thus presumably is understood by audiences to be an "accurate" record of the past).

Despite the realism of the subject matter, and the use by each medium of its own historic photography or footage, both series chose individual topics that were iconic—symbolic of the American character itself. ABC's series told the story of the century through events or phenomena, most paired into themes. Episode One, "Heaven and Earth," reenacted the greatest moments of aviation (the transatlantic flight of Charles Lindbergh) and space exploration (the moon landing) to blend themes of individual heroism and technological progress. Episode Two, "Ultimate Power," explained World War II as "a cautionary tale" in which the rise of Hitler made the

development of the atomic bomb, and the Cold War, inevitable. Episode Three, "No Man's Land," looked for moral lessons in the century's two most disillusioning wars, World War I and Vietnam. Episode Four, "Memphis Dreams," used region and race to connect the lives of Elvis Presley and Martin Luther King, Jr., casting both as representatives of African-American culture and Southern tensions. Episode Five, "Coming Apart," contended that political undercurrents of the Depression bred anti-Communist fervor that resulted in Hollywood blacklisting. The final Episode 6, "The Evolution of Revolution," focused entirely on the Iranian revolution and hostage crisis as a story about the world's relationship with America.[19]

The ABC series privileged the discrete event over an entire era, synecdochically invoking all of aviation through Lindbergh's 1927 flight, the entire Vietnam War through the 1975 fall of Saigon, the whole civil rights movement through the 1968 Memphis garbage-workers' strike that led to King's assassination. Thus the series was more a procession of symbols than a full survey of events. In its first installment of the *Time* series, the magazine's managing editor defined the century in terms of broad themes: freedom, capitalism, technology, mass production, genocide (outside America), and globalism driven by American influences.[20] Yet the focus of the series itself was much narrower, explaining broad phenomena by telling the life stories of individuals.

Time grouped them into categories of American progress: "Leaders & Revolutionaries," "Artists & Entertainers," "Builders & Titans," "Scientists & Thinkers," and "Heroes & Icons." These five issues were nearly identical in format, type of content, and explanation, presenting clear patterns of subject choice and treatment. Each featured twenty people (with runners-up in sidebars), summing up trends in essays and on timelines. *Time*'s final installment had a different format but the same focus on individuals, as suggested by the title of its cover story: "Who Mattered and Why." The issue profiled the "Person of the Century" and runners-up; it also listed the top people of the *millennium*, with one choice for each of the previous nine centuries.[21]

As with the news events featured on *The Century*, each profile in the *Time* installments reported on an actual person, yet revealed some broader lesson. In *Time*, these people became characters with collective meaning in a larger story, a transformation that communication historian Steve Barkin considers "part of the journalistic imperative to make the world comprehensible."[22] The roles of women in such a story therefore are about more than specific women: they too are symbolic, conveying messages about women in American society.

Women as Sources and Subjects

Two scholarly studies of *Time* magazine revealed that, during the middle decades of the century, women appeared infrequently on covers and were portrayed stereotypically in photos inside the magazine.[23] While the focus of this analysis is broader, it suggests that—in terms of the sheer presence of women in the *Time 100* series—little has changed.

The series offered the perspectives of both the magazine's staff and invited authors, some of whom functioned as sources as well as writers (for instance, Reeve Lindbergh writing about her father, Charles, and psychologist Deborah Tannen on Oprah Winfrey). Including sidebars, essays, and timelines as well as the profiles, the five "special sections" carried a total of 143 bylines, 26 (18 percent) of which were female; "Heroes & Icons" contained the most female bylines (12), while "Scientists & Thinkers" contained the fewest (one, in a sidebar). Of the one hundred profiled "greats," seventeen (17 percent) were women, with seven in "Heroes & Icons" and just one each in the "Builders & Titans" and "Scientists & Thinkers" issues.[24]

Leaders & Revolutionaries" profiled birth-control advocate Margaret Sanger, Eleanor Roosevelt, and former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Other female heads of state, including Indira Gandhi, Golda Meir, and Corazon Aquino, were mentioned in a sidebar. "Builders & Titans" profiled cosmetics-company founder Estée Lauder, while "Scientists & Thinkers" profiled environmentalist Rachel Carson. The latter issue included anthropologist Mary Leakey along with her husband and son in "The Leakey Family" profile and recognized Margaret Mead in a sidebar, though it acknowledged Marie Curie (whose two Nobel Prizes were awarded in the early-twentieth century) only in a 150-item timeline.

Women played a larger role in the "Artists & Entertainers" issue. The five major profiles included fashion designer Coco Chanel, soul singer Aretha Franklin, comedienne Lucille Ball, television talk-show host Oprah Winfrey, and choreographer Martha Graham. Among more than one hundred people mentioned in the sidebars and timelines were another twenty women, including dancer Isadora Duncan, author Virginia Woolf, actress Mary Tyler Moore, and singers Maria Callas, Barbra Streisand, Ella Fitzgerald, and Billie Holliday. Also notable was the appearance on the editor's page of senior editor Jan Simpson, one of two editors who planned the issue.

The issue in which women were most thoroughly represented was the "Heroes & Icons" installment. Major profiles (four of them carrying female bylines) included Mother Teresa, Princess Diana, Holocaust diarist Anne Frank, actress Marilyn Monroe, and activists Helen Keller, Rosa Parks, and Emmeline Pankhurst. Some women whose accomplishments echoed those of the profiled subjects appeared in sidebars: flyers Beryl Markham and

Amelia Earhart (with the profile of Charles Lindbergh); athletes "Babe" Didrikson, Althea Gibson, and Martina Navratilova (with Jackie Robinson); singer/activist Marian Anderson (with Rosa Parks); evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson (with Billy Graham); and First Lady and recovering alcoholic Betty Ford (with Alcoholic Anonymous founder Bill W.). Women were rare in that issue's list of the century's "10 Most Influential Athletes" (one, tennis player Billie Jean King) but the majority (11) of its "20 Most Beautiful Stars."

Women were almost completely missing from the "Person of the Century" issue, which profiled Albert Einstein and runners-up Franklin Roosevelt and Mohandas Gandhi. For its "Most Important People of the Millennium" section, the editors selected one woman, Queen Elizabeth I, as its Person of the Sixteenth Century and included two others in runner-up sidebars (Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine for the twelfth century and Joan of Arc for the fifteenth century).

Though the life stories of individual men—Lindbergh, Hitler, Presley, and King—provided the hook for four of the segments of ABC's *The Century*, no woman was a major character in any of the programs. Only one person, narrator Peter Jennings, reported these stories, though they were actually told by a parade of interviewees who were experts on or eyewitnesses to the historical events of the episodes. Of the 156 sources interviewed for the entire series, 25 (16 percent) were women. This ratio closely corresponds with the representation of women as sources and subjects in the *Time* series. The episodes having to do with war had the fewest female sources: one woman was interviewed for each of the episodes on World War I, Hitler, and Vietnam; no women were among the eleven experts who spoke about the development of the atomic bomb. Only one, a former girlfriend, was interviewed for the segment on Presley, even though the film footage was full of the faces of women.

The segments on the space program included two female interviewees, a scientist and an engineer, talking about current projects rather than the show's main topic, the moon landing[25]; two women (a former aide and a civil-rights marcher) also spoke about Martin Luther King, Jr. Three women (an American journalist, an Iranian filmmaker, and the wife of the former Shah) discussed the Iranian revolution, and four women remembered Charles Lindbergh: his daughter, plus three elderly women who had been admirers in their youth. For the segment on Hollywood blacklisting, four actresses, one the wife of a blacklisted director, were interviewed. The highest representation of female speakers, six out of thirteen, appeared in the Depression segment; three testified as relatives of men who were killed in labor violence.

Indeed, twelve of the twenty-five interviewed women were cast in supporting roles—daughter, girlfriend, wife, fan, admirer, aide—in the stories

being told. Yet only nine of the 131 interviewed men played such roles, as sons, grandsons, friends, and admirers of the profiled subjects. Instead, the male sources included entertainment-industry executives (11), soldiers (12), authors (13), historians (14), government officials (19), and scientists or engineers (23).

Women as Background Actors

Equally as striking as the numerical absence of women in major roles in *The Century* episodes and the *Time* series were the roles women played as background actors in both series. Though not profiled, a small number of women were portrayed as achievers. In *The Century*, two women's faces appeared (unidentified) in photos of the group of scientists who developed the atomic bomb; the Hitler segment showed footage of marching American WACs; the Depression-era women whose letters to the President were read aloud by historian Jacquelyn Hall were mill workers and were identified by name, and their words were far from passive (wrote one, "If ain't something done at once, it's going to be war"). Some photographs in the *Time* series showed anonymous women at work—as entertainers, as nurses tending polio patients, as flight attendants, as fast-food counterpersons.

These were exceptions, however. Most women in the text, photos, and film footage of these series fell into supporting or symbolic roles.[26] They appeared:

As wives and mothers. Despite the photos of female scientists in *The Century*'s segment on the bomb, women were more prominently featured in home-movie footage of the scientists and their wives, including one scene of the whole group sending off a newly-married couple. In the Depression segment, wives worsened the pathos of poverty. In both series, a common visual convention in profiles of great men was a shot of the man with his wife standing beside him.[27] For the majority of *Time*'s profiled men, the wife was a visual symbol of family, though neither she nor her children were mentioned in the report itself.

Two types of mothers appeared in both series: the actual mothers of featured men, and symbolic mothers who stood for the status of the American family. In the latter category, film footage in *The Century* showed the Vietnamese mothers of children of American soldiers to convey the tragedy of America's withdrawal from the war; referring to Martin Luther King's "Poor People's Campaign," an unidentified black woman said on camera, "I'm a mother with six kids, and part of the time I don't even know where I'm going to get the next meal for my children." In *Time*'s "Builders & Titans" issue, an unidentified white mother stood, with her family, looking at a model of a suburban house built by William Levitt.

Mothers were part of the ordinary roots of great men. The mother of soccer star Pelé "reluctantly let him turn pro, saying, 'I don't want you sewing boots for a living,'" *Time* noted.[28] In *The Century*, Charles Lindbergh's biographer described his triumphant return to New York as "the moment that literally grown men stood there and began to cry, because this mother was reunited with the boy the world thought she might never see again." Yet maternal figures were also obstacles. Peter Jennings noted that Lindbergh's attachment to his mother was "peculiar." In the World War I segment, an expert called Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm "emotionally unbalanced" partly because "he never got over the fact that his grandmother [England's Queen] Victoria didn't love him as much, he felt, as she loved her other grandchildren."

As groups of companions or admirers of men. In the World War I segment of *The Century*, American women were shown as men's happy dance partners and beach companions before the war, as marchers in a 1916 parade in favor of America's entry into the war, and as sweethearts kissing departing soldiers good-bye. Though they carried signs declaring "I am a man," Memphis sanitation workers were accompanied in the streets by female marchers, who reappeared as gospel singers and tear-streaked mourners in King's funeral procession.

Time's full-page photo of Mao Zedong showed him surrounded by smiling schoolgirls. In *The Century* segment on Adolph Hitler, historian Claudia Koontz, speaking over footage of crowds of smiling German women, explained that "the largest block of Hitler voters were women. He spoke about the masses as feminine, as susceptible to a kind of ecstatic experience." Women certainly seemed ecstatic in the segment on Elvis Presley, which showed them lunging at him, fainting, pulling their hair out, and climbing over the fence at his home to pick his grass.

As dangerous symbols of sexual freedom. If the thematic connection of Hitler and Presley seemed odd, even stranger was the way *The Century* series used gender to link the stories of Presley and Iranian revolution. The Iran segment began with alternating shots of older, veiled Iranian women with young women who, pre-revolution, wore miniskirts and hotpants, waterskied in bathing suits, and worked openly on the streets as prostitutes—a juxtaposition that gave added meaning to a later quote offered (defensively) by one of Ayatollah Khomeini's aides: "In Iran, the position of the woman is the position of the human being." Following film footage of young women protesting Khomeini's order that all women wear the veil, another shot showed what seemed to be one such protester being raped on top of a car. Given that this double-length episode was meant to explain the world's reception of "the progressive notions of 20th-century America," its symbolic

use of anonymous women contained a disturbing message about the risks of American women's sexual freedom—which was also at the heart of the Elvis Presley episode.

Bizarrely, *The Century* explained the popularity of Presley as a story of women's liberation. After showing television-advertisement visions of "domestic bliss" inside the home, Jennings intoned that "teenage girls . . . were coming out to be part of something unlike anything they had ever experienced." A photographer called Presley's popularity the proof of "the revolutionaries, the 14- to 17-year-old girls . . . . He taught them that, yes, they have a body from the waist down, yes they're allowed to move it." A male historian added: "At a pivotal time in the 1950s, he was able to tell women it was okay to have sexual desires and to scream about it, to shout it from the rooftops." Jennings reported of one 1955 Presley concert, "when the girls rushed the stage, Elvis had to run for his life. By the time police rescued him, the girls had ripped off half his clothes. Elvis had unleashed forces beyond his control."

As symbols of race. The fact that Jennings had begun the Presley segment by overtly framing his story as racial (noting that his music grew out of black traditions that were forbidden among white people) added an explosive implication to the notion that Elvis's style "unleashed" the sexuality of suburban white girls. Such a combination equated gender and racial tensions with loss of control over America—an implication that the viewer/reader was neither female nor black. It also conflated race and gender, a phenomenon even more striking in the *Time* series.

The Women of the "*Time* 100"

Seventeen women were among the hundred twentieth-century "greats" chosen by *Time*. Though they had very different backgrounds and accomplishments, their life stories were told through recurring themes, rhetorical devices that corresponded with the general portrayal of women in both the *Time* and *The Century* series:

Appearance as power. Even in stories of businesswoman and political activists, women's looks, whether good or bad, were seen as reasons for their success. Estée Lauder, the only female of *Time*'s "Builders & Titans," had a style that "was utterly feminine," and this quality was the secret of her professional rise: "'She was determined and gracious and lovely through it all,'" admitted one of her competitors. For Lauder and Coco Chanel, beauty was a trait that softened their business sharpness. For Eleanor Roosevelt and Rachel Carson, *lack* of beauty forced them to find other outlets for self-expression. *Time* ascribed Roosevelt's drive to an early acceptance of her

ugliness and described Carson in childhood as a "slim, shy girl of plain face," noting that her "melancholy expression belied a powerful will."[29]

A stranger example of this theme appeared in a profile of a sixteenth-century woman written from a twentieth-century perspective. In the "Most Important People of the Millennium" section of *Time*'s "Person of the Century" issue, its article on Queen Elizabeth I began, "First feminist. First spinmeister. Megawatt celeb. . . . the original feminine mystique . . . . a prodigious political success story built on the power of personality: The Queen as star." It went on to explain that her success in "defining herself as a legitimate ruler lay in consummate imagemaking. She stage-managed her own personality cult. She dressed to kill, glittering with jewels in wondrous costumes to bedazzle her subjects. She went on royal progresses—the equivalent of photo-ops—to show off . . . . She had flattering portraits painted and copies widely distributed."[30]

Two women made the *Time* series solely because of the power of their images. Its profile of Marilyn Monroe began with a large photo of her breasts falling out of her dress and smaller pictures of her in swimsuits. The flag above the title identified her significance as an icon—"The Blonde"—and the blurb beneath it explained, "She sauntered through life as the most delectable sex symbol of the century and became its most enduring pop confection." The text tracked "her wriggle to stardom," while other photos showed her "parading for American G. I.s" and lying in tall grass, wearing a leopard-skin outfit. Monroe's appeal was differently characterized in the same issue's profile of Princess Diana. Under a blurb that asked of Diana, "Why could we not avert our eyes from her? Was it because she beckoned? Or was there something else we longed for?," the text explained: "Diana was beautiful, in a fresh-faced, English, outdoors-girl kind of way. She used her big blue eyes to their fullest advantage, melting the hearts of men and women through an expression of complete vulnerability. Diana's eyes, like those of Marilyn Monroe, contained an appeal directed not to an individual but to the world at large. Please don't hurt me, they seemed to say. She often looked as if she were on the verge of tears, in the manner of folk images of the Virgin Mary."[31]

The good mother. It may have seemed a stretch to compare Diana to the Virgin Mary in the same issue it profiled a woman likely to become an actual saint, yet *Time*'s representational handling of Princess Diana and Mother Teresa was quite similar. Just as the nun was pictured standing among and holding poor children of Calcutta, Diana was shown holding the crutch and stroking the cheek of an African girl maimed by a landmine explosion. Diana was, of course, an actual mother, and the latter photo was next to one of her hugging her sons, captioned with her quote, "They are my life."[32]

Even while celebrating their career successes, *Time* emphasized the maternal qualities and traditional priorities of most of the women it profiled. Estée Lauder was praised because "work and family mingled seamlessly" in her career, "the Holy Grail of many working women today." Lucille Ball was pictured, with husband Desi Arnaz, leaning over the bassinet of son Desi Jr. A more ironic use of this visual convention appeared in the profile of birth-control advocate Margaret Sanger, whose portrait with her infant son imitated a madonna-and-child tableau. Suffragist Emmeline Pankhurst was shown with her adult daughter, and her profile explained that her activism began when her husband died and "she was left to bring up her children alone, with no private means." Other professionals were seen as metaphoric mothers to their successors. "The dominant divas of this decade . . . are all, musically speaking, Sunday-school students of Aretha's," *Time* wrote of Aretha Franklin, just as "Merce Cuningham, Paul Taylor, Twyla Tharp, Mark Morris—all are [Martha] Graham's children and grandchildren."[33]

Women as symbols of all oppressed people. Several of the women *Time* profiled, especially in its "Heroes & Icons" issues, were praised for their altruism. Some of them were credited specifically with advancing women's progress, a theme in the profiles of not only Sanger and Pankhurst, but also Coco Chanel (whose loose clothing styles were "unquestionably part of the liberation of women"). The women who were identified primarily by some factor other than gender—disability, religion, or race—assumed even greater symbolic roles. Helen Keller "prove[d] that the disabled can be independent," the magazine explained, but quoted her as insisting, "My sympathies are with all who struggle for justice." Anne Frank's diary was "the cry of the Jew in the attic, but . . . also the cry of the 20th century mind, of the refugee forced to wander in deserts of someone else's manufacture, of the invisible man who asserts his visibility." Rosa Parks was "a persistent symbol of human dignity in the face of brutal authority," wrote poet Rita Dove, adding: "It is no less than the belief in the power of the individual, that cornerstone of the American Dream, that she inspires, along with the hope that all of us—even the least of us—could be that brave, that serenely human, when crunch time comes."[34]

Like that of Rosa Parks, Eleanor Roosevelt's legacy was a matter of "social justice," and *Time* praised her as "a powerful inspiration to leaders in both the civil rights and women's movements. . . . She gave a voice to people who did not have access to power." She encouraged young women to work, "cautioning them against marrying too hastily before they had a chance to expand their horizons"; she also campaigned for government-funded child care during World War II. Yet the photo nearest this text showed the First Lady not with other women, but rather (in another maternal image) with schoolchildren of various races.[35] *The Century*'s references

to the First Lady in its segment on the Depression also cast her as a symbol of racial issues. In that episode, which showed her with African-American children, biographer Blanche Wiesen Cook credited Mrs. Roosevelt as the first American leader to "put race on the national agenda."

Though much different in occupation and era, talk-show host Oprah Winfrey was similarly portrayed as a comforter whose good works bridged concerns of race and gender. *Time*'s profile began by claiming that Winfrey "stands as a beacon" to African Americans, though concluded by explaining her success in terms of a distinctly gendered style, what psychologist Deborah Tannen (the piece's author) called "'rapport-talk,' the back-and-forth conversation that is the basis of female friendship." Conversely, singer Aretha Franklin's profile began with gender but ended with race. Her hit song *Respect* "convert[ed] American pop from a patriarchal monologue into a coed dialogue. Women were no longer just going to stand around and sing about broken hearts . . . ." Then the magazine—noting that "[t]he twice-divorced diva's life has sometimes had the hard, sad stomp of a blues song"—turned her biography into a parable about race: "During slavery, spirituals would sometimes be encoded with secret messages, directions on how to get North to freedom. Franklin's cryptic hurt serves a similar function; it draws us in, it commands empathy, and it ultimately points us north. . . . North out of heartbreak, north out of oppression, north toward where we want to go."[36]

Flunking the Century

Though *The Century* series contained no acknowledgement of the lack of women in its summary, the *Time* series did. In "Leaders & Revolutionaries," one of its earlier installments, it printed an essay by historian Barbara Ehrenreich, who complained that the magazine had chosen only three women for that issue, 15 percent of the total: "Expressed as a grade, this is an F— , so that if history were a classroom, women would have to take the 20th century over again." She added, "it's a pretty boyish definition of revolution that includes only those great social upheavals that involved the storming of palaces and the execution of royal families."[37]

Ehrenreich's criticism of *Time*'s definition of leadership was precisely Catherine Covert's argument in her critique of how journalism historians see the profession's past—that is, that many more women might be included in the story of the past if "history" were defined differently. While recognizing women in the areas of entertainment and inspiration, *Time*'s series focused mainly on achievers in the fields of business, science and technology, politics, and war, all arenas that have been male domains throughout the century and that are defined as newsworthy because they are about triumph, individualism, and progress. The ABC series explained the century's great-

est events in the same terms (six of *The Century*'s eleven segments were about war or the threat of war). The sparse representation of women as subjects and sources in either series confirms M. Junior Bridge's quantitative analysis of women's participation in news. And the roles women did play in the series correspond with Jean Ward's qualitative analysis of the ongoing journalistic portrayal of women: they were defined in relational and physical terms, while gender became a cipher for minority status and for oppression in general.

ABC's *The Century* series closed with brief quotes from public figures of the present commenting on both the past and the future. One was author Isabel Allende, who said, "I really think that the emergence of feminism is the most revolutionary force of the century, certainly more than Communism, for example, or the expectations we had about scientific development." Though Allende was among a dozen speakers on various topics, her remark was astonishing as a final note to the series itself—which in twelve hours of historical summary had not once mentioned the women's rights movement. Its omission of the movement's first wave was glaring in its footage of placard-holding, marching women in a 1916 parade in favor of American entry into World War I, with no acknowledgement of the fact that at the same time American women were marching in support of suffrage, their argument framed in terms of the very democracy the war was meant to preserve. The omission of the second wave was similarly glaring in the absurd implication that it was Elvis Presley who "freed" women from suburban domesticity.

Time included Emmeline Pankhurst, a British suffragist, as one of its "Heroes & Icons," though it did not profile an American feminist. Its "Person of the Century" cover story, which summed up the themes of the century, included one sentence on the women's rights movement (in a section explaining the choice of Gandhi as a runner-up, as an emblem of all "civil rights" movements), and an illustration included the faces of Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, though neither was identified by name in either caption or text.[38] More problematic for the nature of the *Time* series, surely, was the fact that twentieth-century feminism was a matter of collective rather than individual achievement.

Off the Beaten Path of History—and Journalism

Even suffrage, however, was a public and political story about winning and progress. What Covert and Ehrenreich suggested was a broader view of history. What might have been included *had* these news media defined the past differently?

One answer can be found in a letter printed in *Time*'s "Person of the Century" issue, among many suggestions from readers. A woman from

Pennsylvania wrote: "I nominate 'Rosie the Riveter.' She epitomized the independent, working-class woman."[39] It appeared, amid votes for Elvis Presley and The Beatles, in a concluding section the editors had titled "Off the Beaten Path." This was a telling phrase, given that working women were hardly represented at all in *Time*'s story of the century, or in the ABC News series. The ones who received the most attention were shown as powerful or glamorous, a set of criteria that left out not only working-class women (for whom employment was ongoing and necessary throughout the century, not a lifestyle choice or status symbol), but also the significant contributions of women to professions such as education and health care. This high-profile view of career success also shed little light on how working women changed the structure and day-to-day operation of American business—a transformation that was not linear and progressive, but cyclical, characterized by gains and losses and problems that were "solved" only to recur.

Like employed women, American women who worked at home were alternately praised and vilified throughout the century, a complication that does not fit very well into a story of social progress. Though homemakers did appear in the century summaries, the series might have moved beyond their social-relational roles (as mothers and wives of newsmaking men) to consider their economic role in the triumph of American capitalism, a dominant theme in *Time*'s special issues. While its profiles emphasized the creators and sellers of mass-produced goods, it did not discuss the role of the largely female force of consumers in shaping modern mass culture and ensuring the triumph of capitalism.[40]

Women who could not participate in the capitalist system, meanwhile, were eliminated from the American story these news media told. *The Century* dealt with the subject of poverty only within the context of the Great Depression and mainly through the stories of unemployed men or underpaid men. The series might also have considered why poverty—largely of women and children—continued in America throughout the century, unsolved by technology or democracy.

Finally, the fact that women were not *shown* in the stories these series did cover doesn't mean that women weren't actually a part of those stories. Women as well as (in fact, more so than) men lost their jobs during the Depression. Women as well as men had a stake in the civil rights movement. Millions of women participated in every war, on the homefront, in factories, or on battlefields. And in losing countries such as Germany, Japan, and Vietnam, more women than men were left to cope with the consequences of war.[41] Yet the series treated women as supporting rather than primary actors in all of these defining twentieth-century dramas.

These are only a few examples of ways in which what counts as "history" might be redefined to include women. Yet they convey the radical

nature of that changed view—not an adjustment of the existing story, but rather the creation of another one. This shift would have to be professional as well as cultural, questioning not only what counts as history, but also what counts as "news" itself. Increasingly, news media are the creators and preservers of the public's picture of the American past. Women and women's lives may be more visible in that picture if journalists of the twenty-first century can tell stories in a new way.

Endnotes

1 Gaye Tuchman, "The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media," in *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*, ed. Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benét (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 7.

2 Deborah L. Rhode, "Media Images, Feminist Issues," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 20, no. 3 (Spring 1995), 685.

3 Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, "Collective Memory and the News," *Communication* 11, no. 2 (1989), 125.

4 Robert N. Bellah, et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 153.

5 Jill Edy, "Journalistic Uses of Collective Memory," *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 2 (Spring 1999), 73. For more on collective memory in journalism and in American culture, see Barbie Zelizer, *Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) and George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990).

6 Barbie Zelizer, "Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 12, no. 2 (June 1995), 217.

7 Catherine L. Covert, "Journalism History and Women's Experience: A Problem in Conceptual Change," *Journalism History* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1981), 2-6.

8 Terry Hynes, "Magazine Portrayal of Women, 1911–1930," *Journalism Monographs* 72 (1975); Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Ideas and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Jeanine Basinger, *A Woman's View: How Hollywood Spoke to Women, 1930-1960* (New York: Knopf, 1993); Jennifer Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings:* The Ladies' Home Journal, *Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995). These are just examples of longer works on this period, which is the focus of many journal articles as well.

9 Molly Haskell, *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1974); Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (New York: Knopf, 1983).

10 Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963); Susan Faludi, *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* (New York: Doubleday, 1991); Kathryn Weibel, *Mirror, Mirror: Images of Women Reflected in Popular Culture* (New York: Anchor Books, 1977); Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Times Books, 1994); Bonnie J. Dow, *Prime-Time Feminism: Television, Media Culture, and the Women's Movement Since 1970* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

11 Carolyn Kitch, "Changing Theoretical Perspectives on Women's Media Images: The Emergence of Patterns in New Area of Historical Scholarship," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (Autumn 1997), 477-89.

12 Tuchman, "The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media," 7.

13 Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), 69-70. This is also the view of James Carey in *Communication as Culture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 43.

14 M. Junior Bridge, "Women, Men and Media Reports," (Arlington, VA: Unabridged Communications, 1989-present [interrupted]). The Freedom Forum has funded some of these studies.

15 Jean Ward, "Talking (Fairly) About the World—A Reprise on Journalistic Language," *Media Studies Journal* 7, no. 2 (Winter-Spring 1993), 183-96.

16 Audit Bureau of Circulations [Schaumburg, IL], as of 30 June 2000; founded in 1923, *Time* is also the oldest of the American newsweeklies.

17 *Time*/CBS News, *People of the Century* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999).

18 The magazine evidently disregarded the public's vote, however, in choosing its "Person of the Century." *Time*'s choice was Albert Einstein, followed by runners-up Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Mohandas Gandhi; the winner of the readers' online poll, with 620,000 votes, was Elvis Presley ("Notebook of the Century," *Time: Person of the Century*, 31 December 1999, 37).

19 *The Century*, hosted by Peter Jennings, ABC News: Episode One, "Heaven and Earth": "Lindbergh's Journey" and "First Step," 29 March 1999; Episode Two, "Ultimate Power": "Evil Rising" and "The Race," 1 April 1999; Episode Three, "No Man's Land": "The Great War" and "The Fall," 3 April 1999; Episode Four, "Memphis Dreams": "Innocence in Rebellion" and "Searching for the Promised Land," 6 April 1999; Episode Five, "Coming Apart": "Nothing to Fear" and "Picture This," 8 April 1999; Episode Six, "The Evolution of Revolution": "Live from Tehran," 10 April 1999. All subsequent references in text to *The Century* segment are to these sources.

20 Walter Isaacson, "Our Century . . . and the Next One," *Time: Leaders & Revolutionaries of the 20th Century*, 13 April 1998, 70-75. By the yearend "Person of the Century"

issue, Isaacson had reduced these to "three great themes," one of which was new and emphasized individuals over events or phenomena: "The grand struggle between totalitarianism and democracy"; "The ability of courageous individuals to resist authority in order to secure their civil rights"; and "The explosion of scientific and technical knowledge that unveiled the mysteries of the universe and helped secure the triumph of freedom by unleashing the power of free minds and free markets" (Walter Isaacson, "Who Mattered and Why," *Time: Person of the Century*, 48, 50). Each of these themes justified *Time*'s top three choices—respectively, Roosevelt, Gandhi, and Einstein.

21 *The Time 100* [special issues]: *Leaders & Revolutionaries of the 20th Century*, 13 April 1998; *Artists & Entertainers of the 20th Century*, 8 June 1998; *Builders & Titans of the 20th Century*, 7 December 1998; *Scientists & Thinkers of the 20th Century*, 29 March 1999; *Heroes & Icons of the 20th Century*, 14 June 1999; *Person of the Century*. Subsequent references in text to the *Time* installments are to these sources; additional footnotes appear only where specific articles are quoted.

22 Steve M. Barkin, "The Journalist as Storyteller: An Interdisciplinary Perspective," *American Journalism* 1, no. 2 (Winter 1984), 31.

23 Sammye Johnson and William G. Christ, "Women Through *Time*: Who Gets Covered?" *Journalism Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (Winter 1988), 889-97; Mary L. Matthews and Carol Reuss, "The Minimal Image of Women in *Time* and *Newsweek*," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (August 3-6, 1985).

24 These numbers refer to the one hundred profiles (and accompanying articles) in the first five installments of the series.

25 Though this segment covered the current space program as well, it contained no mention of Sally Ride.

26 The book version of *The Century*, though organized differently, portrayed women in much the same roles as did the television series, most often in groups of admirers or onlookers—as a backdrop for history. The book devoted six pages (out of 605) to the two waves of the American women's rights movement, three to the suffrage movement of the 1910s and three to the 1970s women's movement (Jennings and Brewster, *The Century*, 26-28, 448-50).

27 This standard pose-with-the-wife was included in the *Time* series profiles of: American Presidents Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan; Vladimir Lenin; Adolph Hitler; Mohandas Ghandi; Winston Churchill; Mao Zedong; the Shah of Iran; Nelson Mandela; Martin Luther King, Jr.; Secretary of State Henry Kissinger; Sigmund Freud; philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein; psychologist Jean Piaget; writers F. Scott Fitzgerald, James Joyce, and T. S. Eliot; movie star Charlie Chaplin; Beatles John Lennon and Paul McCartney; trumpeter Louis Armstrong; physicist Enrico Fermi; computer visionary Bill Gates; baseball player Jackie Robinson; preacher Billy Graham; and "Person of the Century" Albert Einstein.

28 Henry Kissinger, "Pelé," *Time: Heroes & Icons*, 110.

29 Grace Mirabella, "Estée Lauder," *Time: Builders & Titans*, 184; Peter Matthiessen, "Rachel Carson," *Time: Scientists & Thinkers*, 187.

30 Johanna McGeary, "Queen Elizabeth I," *Time: Person of the Century*, 162-65.

31 Paul Rudnick, "Marilyn Monroe" and Ian Buruma, "Diana," *Time: Heroes & Icons*, 128-31, 134.

32 Buruma, "Diana," 137.

33 Mirabella, "Estée Lauder," 184; Marina Warner, "Emmeline Pankhurst," *Time: Heroes & Icons*, 176; Christopher John Farley, "Aretha Franklin" and Terry Teachout, "Martha Graham," *Time: Artists & Entertainers*, 164, 200.

34 Ingrid Sischy, "Coco Chanel," *Time: Artistis & Entertainers*, 98-99; Diane Schuur with David Jackson, "Helen Keller," Roger Rosenblatt, "Anne Frank," and Rita Dove, "Rosa Parks," *Time: Heroes & Icons*, 164, 84, 170.

35 Doris Kearns Goodwin, "Eleanor Roosevelt," *Time: Leaders & Revolutionaries*, 123, 125.

36 Deborah Tannen, "Oprah Winfrey" and Farley, "Aretha Franklin," *Time: Artists & Entertainers*, 196, 198, 164.

37 Barbara Ehrenreich, "Great Women, Bad Times," *Time: Leaders & Revolutionaries*, 171.

38 Isaacson, "Who Mattered and Why," 52.

39 Meg Ryan, Bryn Mawr, Pa., "Letters," *Time: Person of the Century*, 18.

40 *Time*'s "Builders & Titans" issue portrayed women as consumers visually in montages illustrating articles on the development of products: two young women standing in front of an air conditioner; a woman applying lipstick; one filming her child with a camcorder; another holding a baby wearing a disposable diaper; five women wearing flapper dresses of the 1920s; and a woman's leg wearing pantyhose. But no article discussed women's economic power as consumers.

41 Another consequence of combining war and progress as the central themes of this journalism was to greatly diminish the number of non-Americans in the story of the 20th century. This slight excluded non-American women even more than men (many of whom did appear in "Leaders & Revolutionaries" and "Scientists & Thinkers").

to the First Lady in its segment on the Depression also cast her as a symbol of racial issues. In that episode, which showed her with African-American children, biographer Blanche Wiesen Cook credited Mrs. Roosevelt as the first American leader to "put race on the national agenda."

Though much different in occupation and era, talk-show host Oprah Winfrey was similarly portrayed as a comforter whose good works bridged concerns of race and gender. *Time*'s profile began by claiming that Winfrey "stands as a beacon" to African Americans, though concluded by explaining her success in terms of a distinctly gendered style, what psychologist Deborah Tannen (the piece's author) called "'rapport-talk,' the back-and-forth conversation that is the basis of female friendship." Conversely, singer Aretha Franklin's profile began with gender but ended with race. Her hit song *Respect* "convert[ed] American pop from a patriarchal monologue into a coed dialogue. Women were no longer just going to stand around and sing about broken hearts . . . ." Then the magazine—noting that "[t]he twice-divorced diva's life has sometimes had the hard, sad stomp of a blues song"—turned her biography into a parable about race: "During slavery, spirituals would sometimes be encoded with secret messages, directions on how to get North to freedom. Franklin's cryptic hurt serves a similar function; it draws us in, it commands empathy, and it ultimately points us north. . . . North out of heartbreak, north out of oppression, north toward where we want to go."[36]

Flunking the Century

Though *The Century* series contained no acknowledgement of the lack of women in its summary, the *Time* series did. In "Leaders & Revolutionaries," one of its earlier installments, it printed an essay by historian Barbara Ehrenreich, who complained that the magazine had chosen only three women for that issue, 15 percent of the total: "Expressed as a grade, this is an F— , so that if history were a classroom, women would have to take the 20th century over again." She added, "it's a pretty boyish definition of revolution that includes only those great social upheavals that involved the storming of palaces and the execution of royal families."[37]

Ehrenreich's criticism of *Time*'s definition of leadership was precisely Catherine Covert's argument in her critique of how journalism historians see the profession's past—that is, that many more women might be included in the story of the past if "history" were defined differently. While recognizing women in the areas of entertainment and inspiration, *Time*'s series focused mainly on achievers in the fields of business, science and technology, politics, and war, all arenas that have been male domains throughout the century and that are defined as newsworthy because they are about triumph, individualism, and progress. The ABC series explained the century's great-

est events in the same terms (six of *The Century*'s eleven segments were about war or the threat of war). The sparse representation of women as subjects and sources in either series confirms M. Junior Bridge's quantitative analysis of women's participation in news. And the roles women did play in the series correspond with Jean Ward's qualitative analysis of the ongoing journalistic portrayal of women: they were defined in relational and physical terms, while gender became a cipher for minority status and for oppression in general.

ABC's *The Century* series closed with brief quotes from public figures of the present commenting on both the past and the future. One was author Isabel Allende, who said, "I really think that the emergence of feminism is the most revolutionary force of the century, certainly more than Communism, for example, or the expectations we had about scientific development." Though Allende was among a dozen speakers on various topics, her remark was astonishing as a final note to the series itself—which in twelve hours of historical summary had not once mentioned the women's rights movement. Its omission of the movement's first wave was glaring in its footage of placard-holding, marching women in a 1916 parade in favor of American entry into World War I, with no acknowledgement of the fact that at the same time American women were marching in support of suffrage, their argument framed in terms of the very democracy the war was meant to preserve. The omission of the second wave was similarly glaring in the absurd implication that it was Elvis Presley who "freed" women from suburban domesticity.

Time included Emmeline Pankhurst, a British suffragist, as one of its "Heroes & Icons," though it did not profile an American feminist. Its "Person of the Century" cover story, which summed up the themes of the century, included one sentence on the women's rights movement (in a section explaining the choice of Gandhi as a runner-up, as an emblem of all "civil rights" movements), and an illustration included the faces of Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, though neither was identified by name in either caption or text.[38] More problematic for the nature of the *Time* series, surely, was the fact that twentieth-century feminism was a matter of collective rather than individual achievement.

Off the Beaten Path of History—and Journalism

Even suffrage, however, was a public and political story about winning and progress. What Covert and Ehrenreich suggested was a broader view of history. What might have been included *had* these news media defined the past differently?

One answer can be found in a letter printed in *Time*'s "Person of the Century" issue, among many suggestions from readers. A woman from

Pennsylvania wrote: "I nominate 'Rosie the Riveter.' She epitomized the independent, working-class woman."[39] It appeared, amid votes for Elvis Presley and The Beatles, in a concluding section the editors had titled "Off the Beaten Path." This was a telling phrase, given that working women were hardly represented at all in *Time*'s story of the century, or in the ABC News series. The ones who received the most attention were shown as powerful or glamorous, a set of criteria that left out not only working-class women (for whom employment was ongoing and necessary throughout the century, not a lifestyle choice or status symbol), but also the significant contributions of women to professions such as education and health care. This high-profile view of career success also shed little light on how working women changed the structure and day-to-day operation of American business—a transformation that was not linear and progressive, but cyclical, characterized by gains and losses and problems that were "solved" only to recur.

Like employed women, American women who worked at home were alternately praised and vilified throughout the century, a complication that does not fit very well into a story of social progress. Though homemakers did appear in the century summaries, the series might have moved beyond their social-relational roles (as mothers and wives of newsmaking men) to consider their economic role in the triumph of American capitalism, a dominant theme in *Time*'s special issues. While its profiles emphasized the creators and sellers of mass-produced goods, it did not discuss the role of the largely female force of consumers in shaping modern mass culture and ensuring the triumph of capitalism.[40]

Women who could not participate in the capitalist system, meanwhile, were eliminated from the American story these news media told. *The Century* dealt with the subject of poverty only within the context of the Great Depression and mainly through the stories of unemployed men or underpaid men. The series might also have considered why poverty—largely of women and children—continued in America throughout the century, unsolved by technology or democracy.

Finally, the fact that women were not *shown* in the stories these series did cover doesn't mean that women weren't actually a part of those stories. Women as well as (in fact, more so than) men lost their jobs during the Depression. Women as well as men had a stake in the civil rights movement. Millions of women participated in every war, on the homefront, in factories, or on battlefields. And in losing countries such as Germany, Japan, and Vietnam, more women than men were left to cope with the consequences of war.[41] Yet the series treated women as supporting rather than primary actors in all of these defining twentieth-century dramas.

These are only a few examples of ways in which what counts as "history" might be redefined to include women. Yet they convey the radical

nature of that changed view—not an adjustment of the existing story, but rather the creation of another one. This shift would have to be professional as well as cultural, questioning not only what counts as history, but also what counts as "news" itself. Increasingly, news media are the creators and preservers of the public's picture of the American past. Women and women's lives may be more visible in that picture if journalists of the twenty-first century can tell stories in a new way.

Endnotes

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13 Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), 69-70. This is also the view of James Carey in *Communication as Culture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 43.

14 M. Junior Bridge, "Women, Men and Media Reports," (Arlington, VA: Unabridged Communications, 1989-present [interrupted]). The Freedom Forum has funded some of these studies.

15 Jean Ward, "Talking (Fairly) About the World—A Reprise on Journalistic Language," *Media Studies Journal* 7, no. 2 (Winter-Spring 1993), 183-96.

16 Audit Bureau of Circulations [Schaumburg, IL], as of 30 June 2000; founded in 1923, *Time* is also the oldest of the American newsweeklies.

17 *Time*/CBS News, *People of the Century* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999).

18 The magazine evidently disregarded the public's vote, however, in choosing its "Person of the Century." *Time*'s choice was Albert Einstein, followed by runners-up Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Mohandas Gandhi; the winner of the readers' online poll, with 620,000 votes, was Elvis Presley ("Notebook of the Century," *Time: Person of the Century*, 31 December 1999, 37).

19 *The Century*, hosted by Peter Jennings, ABC News: Episode One, "Heaven and Earth": "Lindbergh's Journey" and "First Step," 29 March 1999; Episode Two, "Ultimate Power": "Evil Rising" and "The Race," 1 April 1999; Episode Three, "No Man's Land": "The Great War" and "The Fall," 3 April 1999; Episode Four, "Memphis Dreams": "Innocence in Rebellion" and "Searching for the Promised Land," 6 April 1999; Episode Five, "Coming Apart": "Nothing to Fear" and "Picture This," 8 April 1999; Episode Six, "The Evolution of Revolution": "Live from Tehran," 10 April 1999. All subsequent references in text to *The Century* segment are to these sources.

20 Walter Isaacson, "Our Century . . . and the Next One," *Time: Leaders & Revolutionaries of the 20th Century*, 13 April 1998, 70-75. By the yearend "Person of the Century"

issue, Isaacson had reduced these to "three great themes," one of which was new and emphasized individuals over events or phenomena: "The grand struggle between totalitarianism and democracy"; "The ability of courageous individuals to resist authority in order to secure their civil rights"; and "The explosion of scientific and technical knowledge that unveiled the mysteries of the universe and helped secure the triumph of freedom by unleashing the power of free minds and free markets" (Walter Isaacson, "Who Mattered and Why," *Time: Person of the Century*, 48, 50). Each of these themes justified *Time*'s top three choices—respectively, Roosevelt, Gandhi, and Einstein.

21 *The Time 100* [special issues]: *Leaders & Revolutionaries of the 20th Century*, 13 April 1998; *Artists & Entertainers of the 20th Century*, 8 June 1998; *Builders & Titans of the 20th Century*, 7 December 1998; *Scientists & Thinkers of the 20th Century*, 29 March 1999; *Heroes & Icons of the 20th Century*, 14 June 1999; *Person of the Century*. Subsequent references in text to the *Time* installments are to these sources; additional footnotes appear only where specific articles are quoted.

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23 Sammye Johnson and William G. Christ, "Women Through *Time*: Who Gets Covered?" *Journalism Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (Winter 1988), 889-97; Mary L. Matthews and Carol Reuss, "The Minimal Image of Women in *Time* and *Newsweek*," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (August 3-6, 1985).

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26 The book version of *The Century*, though organized differently, portrayed women in much the same roles as did the television series, most often in groups of admirers or onlookers—as a backdrop for history. The book devoted six pages (out of 605) to the two waves of the American women's rights movement, three to the suffrage movement of the 1910s and three to the 1970s women's movement (Jennings and Brewster, *The Century*, 26-28, 448-50).

27 This standard pose-with-the-wife was included in the *Time* series profiles of: American Presidents Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan; Vladimir Lenin; Adolph Hitler; Mohandas Ghandi; Winston Churchill; Mao Zedong; the Shah of Iran; Nelson Mandela; Martin Luther King, Jr.; Secretary of State Henry Kissinger; Sigmund Freud; philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein; psychologist Jean Piaget; writers F. Scott Fitzgerald, James Joyce, and T. S. Eliot; movie star Charlie Chaplin; Beatles John Lennon and Paul McCartney; trumpeter Louis Armstrong; physicist Enrico Fermi; computer visionary Bill Gates; baseball player Jackie Robinson; preacher Billy Graham; and "Person of the Century" Albert Einstein.

28 Henry Kissinger, "Pelé," *Time: Heroes & Icons*, 110.

29 Grace Mirabella, "Estée Lauder," *Time: Builders & Titans*, 184; Peter Matthiessen, "Rachel Carson," *Time: Scientists & Thinkers*, 187.

30 Johanna McGeary, "Queen Elizabeth I," *Time: Person of the Century*, 162-65.

31 Paul Rudnick, "Marilyn Monroe" and Ian Buruma, "Diana," *Time: Heroes & Icons*, 128-31, 134.

32 Buruma, "Diana," 137.

33 Mirabella, "Estée Lauder," 184; Marina Warner, "Emmeline Pankhurst," *Time: Heroes & Icons*, 176; Christopher John Farley, "Aretha Franklin" and Terry Teachout, "Martha Graham," *Time: Artists & Entertainers*, 164, 200.

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The Enemy Within: Journalism, the State, and the Limits of Dissent in Cold War Britain, 1950–1951

by John Jenks

Great Britain's part in the Korean War marked a turning point in the government's attitude toward dissenting journalism and laid the foundation for Cold War opinion management. The government gave up the blunt tools of suppression and punishment used in World War II and instead relied much more heavily on covert propaganda and self-censorship by the mainstream media.

The most serious dissent came from the Communist newspaper, the Daily Worker. The cabinet and parliamentary and public debates over the Daily Worker helped define the new, more flexible limits of dissent in Cold War Britain. At the same time, the government sought to influence Cold War discourse through increased domestic propaganda through the Foreign Office's covert Information Research Department.

The Korean War reworked the rules of Cold War diplomacy in 1950-53. It also reworked the rules for journalism. Most Cold War media scholarship has tended to focus on the American news media and the coverage of Vietnam, while neglecting the experiences of other Western democracies and the importance of the Korean War. This essay corrects that omission by analyzing the debates in Britain over war reporting and left wing commentary in 1950-51. It argues that Britain's limited involvement in Korea led to major changes in the state's perception and handling of news media criticism, dissent, and subversion. The approach that had worked in the abnormal conditions of World War II—a strong combination of propaganda, censorship, and occasional press suppression—was unsuited for the Cold War's new mix of constitutional normality and undeclared war. The state used propaganda and censorship but, despite in-

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tense pressures and several concrete proposals, did not shut any newspapers or prosecute any "subversive" journalists.[1]

On the surface, the state's failure to use its power might seem to be a libertarian victory, but a closer look reveals an increase in the state's covert, anti-Communist propaganda and a spread of media self-censorship. In short, state-media relations reached a new balance more suited to Cold War peculiarities—the state respected constitutional limits but increasingly used covert propaganda to influence public discourse. On one hand, this provided the basis for the greater sense of freedom and the more critical journalism that emerged in the late 1960s; on the other, it encouraged the institutionalization of covert, peacetime public opinion manipulation.

Some of the facts discussed in this article have been published before, usually as incidentals to biographies, autobiographies, or histories of British Communism or the Korean War.[2] But much of the information has been combed from the archives and revealed here for the first time—information from the British Broadcasting Corporation, Reuters, the Beaverbrook press, the *Times*, and the British government. It also draws on contemporary press reports and opinion surveys—the Mass Observation opinion surveys, mainstream press reports, newspaper trade journals, and, of course, the Communist *Daily Worker* itself.

The Lessons of the Past

The total war of 1939-45 taught British leaders that they had to keep a close eye on the news media and be prepared to take action if dissenting journalists challenged the wartime consensus. Widespread propaganda—both covert and overt—and security censorship accompanied this vigilance. Most of British Prime Minister Clement Attlee's 1950-51 cabinet colleagues learned their statecraft in the World War II coalition government. Their experience became highly relevant with the widespread fear that the fighting in Korea could escalate into World War III.

Throughout World War II, a battery of emergency regulations had given the government enormous power to suppress dissenting and damaging voices. It used that power eclectically, shutting down a Trotskyite newspaper, raiding an Anarchist newsroom, and suppressing a weekly run by right-wing Polish exiles that had offended the Soviet embassy at an inconvenient time.[3] The most notorious action was the suppression of the Communist *Daily Worker* in 1941 because of negative reporting and its campaign for a negotiated peace with Hitler.[4] At a desperate point in 1942, the government even threatened to shut down the mass-circulation *Daily Mirror* unless it moderated its criticism of war leadership.[5]

In the war's aftermath, Attorney General Hartley Shawcross prosecuted William Joyce—better known as the Nazi radio personality Lord Haw-

Haw—for treason and sent him to the gallows. Joyce had been a middling fascist in 1930s England but moved to Germany in 1939 and gained notoriety for his wartime broadcasts to Britain.[6] In 1945 he was captured and returned to stand trial for treason.[7] He was hanged in January 1946, but his legacy haunted the discourse on journalism and treason throughout the Korean War.[8]

War in "Distant Korea"

The Cold War had been a fact of life for Britain for several years by the time the Korean War broke out in June 1950. The alliance with the Soviet Union fell apart after the World War II victory over Nazi Germany. By 1947 Britain and the USSR were openly antagonistic. The Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the Berlin Blockade, and a series of confrontations in the Near East and the United Nations hardened British policy makers and public opinion against the Soviets. That hostility extended to the British Communist Party, which closely followed the Soviet lead.

In the cabinet, a top-level committee on subversive movements began working out anti-Communist strategy in January 1947, including plans to ban the Communist Party and detain its leaders in the event of war with the Soviets.[9] The following year the government began removing Communists from sensitive civil service positions but refrained from the high-profile purges then prevalent in the United States.[10] In the mainstream media, some journalists who were perceived to be too friendly to the Communist line were quietly eased out of important positions.[11] Meanwhile, the *Daily Worker* continued to lose readers as it tied itself even more tightly to the Soviet Union and intensified its vicious polemics against the Labour government.[12] Korea brought things to a head.

Britain had almost no direct interests in Korea, but it had a vital interest in maintaining the Anglo-American alliance. This led to Britain's backing of the American-engineered United Nations resolution that committed U.N. prestige and U.S. troops to halting the North Korean invasion. The British government sent Royal Navy units to assist but decided the army was already stretched too thin to spare troops. Eventually, however, 81,000 British soldiers, sailors, and airmen served in Korea.[13]

Mainstream journalists supported the strong Anglo-American response and mined the lessons of the past to frame their coverage.[14] Appeasing Hitler had bred only more aggression; Stalin was judged to be much the same. As Attlee broadcast to the nation in late July, dictators only understood force: "This is why what is happening in Korea is of such importance to you. The fire that has been started in distant Korea may burn down your house."[15]

But within months enthusiasm waned and the government faced serious problems:

•The shock waves from Korea, and American pressure, led the government to vastly accelerate its rearmament program, which distorted the struggling British economy, led to social service cutbacks, and brought long-festering political issues to a head. The balance of trade turned against Britain and rising inflation, coupled with stagnant wages, increased working-class discontent.

•The Labour government was tired, dispirited, and barely hanging on to power; even a minor shift in parliament could bring it down. By the end of the year, a growing minority in the party opposed the rearmament plan. Others began to express sympathy with Communist China, whose troops were battling British and American soldiers in Korea.

•British Communists and their *Daily Worker* opposed the war, supported an anti-rearmament peace movement, and backed wildcat strikes on the docks and in power plants. The government saw those developments as links in a Kremlin-directed conspiracy.

•A fear began to grow that the fighting in Korea could escalate into a third world war.[16] In public opinion polls, 63 percent said Russia was out to dominate the world, and 67 percent said there was a high likelihood of a world war.[17] The more anecdotal Mass Observation reported a working-class man's stark appraisal:

> Round where I work they all hold the same view that it looks as if we're leading into another world war. Personally I think it definitely had to come—we've been hovering round the possibility of one for a long time—I feel Russia's got to be stopped. Somehow she wants to dominate the world in the same way as Hitler.[18]

Journalism, Subversion and Treason

Moscow's domination of the British Communist Party, and the party's grip on the *Daily Worker*, meant that many in Cold War Britain saw the newspaper's coverage as fundamentally different than that of any other newspaper.[19] Critical coverage in other newspapers could be shrugged off as disagreements over strategy and tactics. More fundamental dissent over the basic aims of British policy could usually be tolerated. But the *Daily Worker's* uncompromising dissent linked with loyalty to a hostile foreign power—in this case the Soviet Union—was perceived as subversion pure and simple. In wartime, many believed that it bordered on treason. But the peculiar conditions of 1950-51—limited war in Korea, a barely contained worldwide Cold War, and an attempt to establish normal living conditions at home—meant that Britain had approached but not crossed the threshold that would justify total war mobilization and emergency decrees to control the press.

The *Daily Worker's* coverage of Korea led to two distinct concerns in the government. Initially, there was the fear that the *Daily Worker* would try to incite workers to disrupt and possibly sabotage war production and supply. Later, the government feared that the newspaper's war coverage, especially from its correspondent in North Korea, would turn the public against the war and against the government's rearmament plan.

The initial coverage in the *Daily Worker* was provocative yet utterly predictable. In articles, cartoons, and editorials, the newspaper portrayed the United States as the new fascist aggressor, South Korea as its puppet, and Communist North Korea as the peace-loving yet resolute victim. It promoted war resistance but through constitutional channels. Behind screaming appeals urging "Hands Off Korea! Withdraw the British Navy! Not a British man or gun for MacArthur's war!" was an incitement to nothing more than a visit to the reader's parliamentary representative.[20] Quick research by prosecutors indicated that the newspaper was legally clear. The *Daily Worker's* call for lawful, non-violent resistance did not amount to seditious libel. It also did not rise to the level of treason, partly because the war was not legally a war—it was a "police action."[21]

Other developments made the government reconsider. A series of suspicious military accidents led many to suspect the hand of Communist saboteurs, especially after munitions bound for Korea mysteriously exploded in Portsmouth harbor.[22] Wildcat strikes on the docks were blamed on Communist manipulation and led to fears that Communists among dock workers might try to block arms shipments.[23]

With these expectations the government began to prepare legislation that would outlaw any interference with supplies bound for British troops fighting undeclared wars overseas.[24] This legislation also aimed to curb the *Daily Worker* and other Communist publications by outlawing "subversive or misleading propaganda" inciting such interference.[25] The cabinet held back, but in September considered a revised, broader proposal that would ban propaganda "intended either to prejudice the operations of our Forces or those of our associates or to assist the opponents of such operations." Cabinet ministers postponed action until October, by which time it was clear a Communist sabotage conspiracy was not in the works. The bill stayed on the shelf.[26]

Meanwhile, the *Daily Worker* had raised the stakes in mid-July when it sent its Beijing correspondent, Alan Winnington, to report the war from the North Korean side.[27] The British Foreign Office investigated Winnington and his legal status but announced merely that it would monitor his activities while he was in Communist Korea.[28] But once British troops arrived in Korea in August, the unusual situation arose in which a British war correspondent for a British newspaper was serving with the combat enemies of the British Army.

Most of Winnington's dispatches stuck to the era's war reporting conventions, but from a pro-North Korean, anti-American angle. He described the devastating effects of U.S. saturation bombing, denigrated American fighting ability, and praised the resilience and courage of pro-Communist Koreans.[29] His biggest story was a sensational report of U.S. complicity in the alleged South Korean police massacre of 7,000 political prisoners between July 6 and July 21, near Taejon, before the city fell to advancing North Koreans. In Winnington's account, the police beat the prisoners, loaded them onto trucks (some driven by Americans), and took them to freshly dug pits where they were shot or beheaded. Winnington highlighted any American connection, down to the empty American cigarette packages the executioners had left behind.[30] Other British newspapers ignored the story, the U.S. London embassy labeled it an "atrocity fabrication," but inquiries by British diplomats led them to believe that there might be some truth to Winnington's report.[31]

In fact, recent investigative reporting indicates that a large-scale massacre occurred at approximately the same time and same place as Winnington had alleged. Not only did U.S. military authorities have evidence of the massacre, but also they had two officers on hand taking photographs of the carnage. The Associated Press obtained and published the photos and Lt. Col. Bob E. Edwards' report in April 2000. The AP estimated that 1,800 people were killed.[32]

War was good for newspaper circulation and the *Daily Worker* benefited more than most. While the post-war years were boom times for most newspapers, the *Daily Worker's* circulation had been in steady decline since 1948, from 120,000 to 92,000. The war stopped the decline and added 1,000 copies to daily circulation after July 1950, as readers began to look for "the other side of the story" about Korea.[33]

The Communists were getting noticed in other ways. Union leader Arthur Deakin, who wielded great power within the Labour Party, was pressuring the government for action against the Communists and in mid-September went public with a call to suppress the party and its newspaper. Simultaneously, Deakin's transport workers refused to deliver the *Daily Worker* to news wholesalers throughout greater Manchester.[34] Deakin's call met with a tepid response and other union workers declined his implied invitation to join the boycott of the *Daily Worker*.[35] But in parliament some members were beginning to raise awkward questions about Winnington. Attorney General Hartley Shawcross complained to the cabinet that labeling the war a "police action" instead of a war created a legal "Alice in Wonderland" and complicated questions about the legality of Winnington's journalism. The government ignored the complications and went ahead with a parliamentary statement that Winnington was "laying himself open" to charges of

treason. Under British law, treason was a capital crime with no room for compromise—the death penalty was automatic.[36]

Korean Atrocities—"... a callous and cruel people."

The mainstream British press was willing to push the borders of the Cold War consensus by reporting extensively on the often-brutal behavior of Britain's South Korean allies but always stayed within the limits by framing its coverage as appeals to the U.N. to restrain the Koreans. The *Daily Worker* often quoted the criticism without the reference to the U.N. This practice blurred the already indistinct boundary the government was trying to maintain between subversion and critical journalism.

The appalling evidence of brutality by both sides had reinforced the racialized stereotype of the Koreans as a "callous and cruel people" with a bent for atrocity.[37] The August shooting of twenty-six American prisoners by the North Koreans received heavy publicity, as did discoveries of mass graves of those killed by the North Koreans as U.N. forces advanced up the peninsula.[38] The advance also meant that British reporters were on hand in the liberated areas to see South Korean forces indiscriminately brutalize and kill those suspected of Communist sympathies.[39] The foreign policy elite's distaste for the South Korean regime probably made it easier for the mainstream media to cover critically South Korean depredations while supporting the general war aims.[40] Winnington's atrocity stories, though ignored by the mainstream media, may have strengthened some journalists' hunches about the South Korean regime.

In mid-October, the correspondent for the *Times* wrote to his editor that he was disgusted with the "cynical and sickening methods" of the South Koreans and pointed out that it "would be dishonest for me as a journalist to ignore it."[41] In his 25 October story, he calmly described vicious treatment of men, women, and children by both sides and stated that the South Koreans were behaving just as badly as the Communist North Koreans.[42] That reporting in the elite and ultra-respectable *Times* sent shock waves through the political establishment and contributed to a growing public unease about the war.[43] The *Daily Worker* reprinted a facsimile of the most damning paragraphs of the *Times*' story on its front page the next day.[44] Atrocities continued to make news when the publisher of *Picture Post* magazine fired his editor after he had tried to push through a photo-story about South Korean brutality. Controversy about the firing kept atrocities in the news, especially when the *Daily Worker* printed a pirated excerpt of the story on its front page.[45] The *Daily Worker* took advantage of the mainstream media again in December when it ran a full page of American news agency photos of South Korean police shooting alleged Communists.[46] The mainstream media continued to cover South Korean atrocities but were begin-

ning to worry about "doing the *Daily Worker's* propaganda for them," as one editor put it.[47] At the same time, the Reuter news agency faced the dilemma of squaring its sense of objectivity with its reluctance to cover Communist reports of South Korean and U.S. atrocities.[48]

Despite the widespread coverage of South Korean atrocities, only the *Daily Worker* and Winnington were singled out as subversives. In October, a number of Winnington's dispatches had been published in a pamphlet that detailed American bombing of civilians, American POWs' "confessions," and stomach-turning details of atrocities allegedly committed by South Korean and American forces.[49] After parliamentary complaints, Shawcross took notice and came to the Cabinet for advice: If he admitted to parliament that the *Daily Worker's* coverage and Winnington's pamphlet were treasonous, as he believed them to be, he would have to take action. The only penalty for treason was death, which he believed to be excessive. More importantly, most juries would also think it excessive and refuse to send a journalist to the gallows. In World War II, special emergency legislation had covered these activities, but now it was "treason or nothing."[50] The powerful cabinet secretary shared that worry and urged Attlee to consider, instead, prosecuting *Daily Worker* journalists for sedition. He wrote to Attlee: "It seems clear that proceedings for treason are much too heavy a hammer for this particular nut."[51]

The Cabinet agreed that the noose was not the right tool for the job, pointing out that the mainstream press was also publishing atrocity stories, and it decided, instead, to redesign the anti-Communist legislation it had recently shelved.[52] The redesign made the crime dependent on the intent—if it were to "prejudice operations," the defendant would not be able to argue that the facts he had published were true and in the public interest.[53] Once again the Cabinet secretary urged Attlee to ignore that advice. British Communists had not interfered with operations in Korea, he pointed out, and Parliament and the public might resist a new law that seemed exclusively to "suppress views."[54] In the absence of a new law, the Cabinet decided on a policy of threatening ambiguity. It implied that Winnington's journalism was treasonous but remained vague on specific legal action.[55]

By that time the fortunes of war had changed yet again. Massive Chinese intervention had sent the Americans reeling, U.N. Commander Douglas MacArthur seemed increasingly out of control, and President Harry Truman appeared to be giving him authority to use nuclear weapons. Atrocity stories continued to erode what little support the British people had for the South Koreans. The *Times* reported the South Koreans had executed 800 people the previous week and described British troops rescuing women, who were carrying children, bound for execution.[56] Meanwhile, the Americans and the British chiefs of staff were pushing for yet another massive increase in British military spending. British support for the war slumped,

some Labour members of parliament neared revolt, and anti-Americanism jumped as World War III appeared more and more likely.[57] British Communists sought to harness this rising anti-Americanism to the pro-Soviet Peace Partisans movement, but blatant Communist control and harsh government counter-measures doomed it to futility. Organized non-Communist opposition to the war later did spring up through the Peace With China Committee, but the mainstream press ignored it.[58]

This discontent and the widening differences within the Labour Party over the rearmament program seemed to add up to a disturbing national mood of "sceptical defeatism" according to the Treasury's public relations adviser.[59] The Prime Minister's public relations adviser suggested that a sharp attack on British Communists could stop the continuing decay of British morale and help "sell" the rearmament program. He unsuccessfully urged Attlee to ban the *Daily Worker,* just as the government had in 1941. In a letter to Atlee, he wrote:

> If the *Daily Worker* were suppressed, we could expect trouble from the *Daily Express* and bleats from the *Manchester Guardian* and the *News Chronicle*, but I think we could count on support from almost everywhere else that matters. If we prepared our case carefully and produced a list of treasonable and vile statements by the *Daily Worker* over the last six months, we should have the overwhelming majority behind us...No doubt mass meetings of protest would be organised, and halls would be filled by the usual crowds, but I am sure we need not worry about them.[60]

Mrs. Felton Consorts with the Enemy

Without emergency powers, the government was at a loss on how to handle continuing, hostile Communist journalism. Cabinet ministers again tried to fashion new tools to squelch Communists while maintaining constitutional liberties but fell from office before they could follow through.

By March the *Daily Worker* had discovered a new gap in the now tattered line between dissent and subversion through its monopoly on access to British POWs in Korea. Winnington gathered the names and photographs of the POWs and sent them back to the *Daily Worker* along with anti-war messages purportedly written by the men.[61] The newspaper splashed the names, photos, and "testimonials" across the front pages for weeks, enraging Parliament and commentators in the mainstream press.[62] The trade journal *World's Press News* complained that the *Daily Worker's* articles "smack unpleasantly of the family blackmail methods so familiar under Nazi and Communist regimes."[63] The government dragged out its now threadbare accusation of treason but did little else.[64]

The next transgression came from a new angle. Labour Party stalwart Monica Felton took a break from running a government "New Town" development to travel to North Korea. Passing through the U.S.S.R. on her return trip, she broadcast on Radio Moscow allegations of South Korean, American, and British atrocities.[65] Back in London she repeated the allegations in the *Daily Worker*, at a widely covered press conference, and during speeches and rallies around the country. The response was immediate and hostile.[66]

Felton lost her government job, ostensibly for missing meetings while in Korea.[67] Conservative members of Parliament condemned her as a traitor, read into the parliamentary record excerpts from her Radio Moscow broadcasts, and raised ominous parallels between her actions and those of the late "Lord Haw-Haw," who was hanged for his broadcasts.[68] Prosecutors searched for a crime that would fit Felton's case but found that treason, criminal libel, sedition, and even public mischief would not legally apply.[69] However, Felton's case and the *Daily Worker's* "constant misrepresentation" of the war were pushing the government toward action. Although the new attorney general, Frank Soskice, thought interfering with the press was "dangerous and difficult," doing nothing would lead to more problems. In a Cabinet memorandum, he wrote:

> It is not as if we were just living through a spate of such incidents which will come to an end. The cold war will continue and if I should decide not to prosecute Mrs. Felton others may take this as carte blanche for them to visit North Korea as much as they like. To the average person it may seem fantastic that when British troops are engaged in all-out hostilities, and in some cases, suffering considerable losses, it should be open to anybody, if the North Koreans will allow them, to go behind the enemy lines and consort with those who are doing their best to kill British soldiers.[70]

The solution was to create a new crime—treachery—that would punish people like Felton for their "subversive" writings and speeches. The law also would prohibit any British subject, including journalists, from traveling to North Korea.[71] The traditionally liberal *Manchester Guardian* and *The Economist* both supported changes in the law, arguing that Britain's fourteenth century treason law was too blunt to deal with the ambiguities and complexities of twentieth-century psychological warfare. The state had to be able to punish subversion while safeguarding "legitimate" opinion.[72]

Labour lost power before the Cabinet could follow through on the latest legal innovation. The incoming Churchill government had an indifferent record on civil liberties and little tolerance for Communists; yet, it abandoned the treachery law as unnecessary and unworkable.[73] The need

was less pressing after 1951, despite continuing Communist dissent. The Conservatives had cut back on rearmament, Cold War tensions had eased slightly, and the war in Korea had ground down into a self-contained stalemate, complete with interminable armistice negotiations.

You Can't Go Home Again

Winnington gained even more notoriety in Korea when he covered the truce talks for the *Daily Worker* from the North Korean side. He and left-wing Australian correspondent Wilfred Burchett used their access to information from the North Korean and Chinese negotiators to brief American journalists about the progress of the truce talks. Despite initial hostility, the American journalists turned to the two men as top-level sources because of the many evasions, half-truths, and omissions of American negotiators.[74] Winnington also met with American and British POWs, which led to later charges that he had helped the Chinese interrogate the men and fabricate false confessions of biological warfare.[75]

Although the government appeared to be powerless against Winnington and Felton, it did have other resources to influence public discourse—intensified propaganda and security censorship. In 1950-51, the quasi-official Defence Notice Committee, which brought together military and media representatives to agree on voluntary censorship of sensitive military information, began censoring some economic and industrial information to limit information the military thought would help the Soviets pick bombing and sabotage targets.[76] This affected few stories but undoubtedly had a chilling effect on British journalism.

The 1950-51 crisis also brought a much sharper anti-Communist focus to the government propaganda, especially as the covert, anti-Communist Information Research Department (IRD) intensified its work within Britain.[77] Soon after the outbreak of war, the IRD intensified its work with the Labour Party, the British Broadcasting Corporation, public affairs journals, news agencies, book publishers, and civil defense lecturers.[78]

A good example of the new-style propaganda came in 1952 when an intensive Communist propaganda campaign, assisted by Winnington, accused the Americans of waging biological warfare against civilians in Korea and China. Recently discovered Russian documents indicate that the Communist campaign was based on fraud. There was no biological warfare, and Moscow knew it.[79] But when the accusations first surfaced in the spring of 1952, the British government quickly launched spin control, briefing journalists, and sending rebuttals overseas—some written by friendly British correspondents, others written by IRD staff and published under pseudonyms.[80] When prominent British biochemist Joseph Needham gave credence to the charges, the IRD launched a delicate, but ultimately unsuc-

cessful, operation to persuade leading British scientists to publicly attack one of their own.[81] After prominent, left-wing, churchman Hewlett Johnson—the "Red Dean" of Canterbury Cathedral—echoed the Communist allegations, the IRD helped right-wing politician John Baker White write a pamphlet attacking Johnson.[82] But Winnington and Burchett were never far from mind.

Even after the war, the Foreign Office was eager to "nail both men down hard."[83] The returning POWs' testimony was put together in a hard-hitting pamphlet intended to discredit British Communists and their friends. The Cabinet deliberately retained defamatory passages, possibly to provoke a lawsuit to further publicize the accusations.[84] The pamphlet became a best seller and stimulated more calls for punishment.[85] This put the Conservatives in the same bind as the Labour Party had been in 1950-51, and they responded in largely the same way—vague public threats and private admissions of impotence.[86] But the government was holding one card against Winnington.

Through all of his escapades Winnington had been traveling on a British passport. When he tried to renew it in 1954, the British consul in Beijing simply seized it without explanation.[87] Burchett had a similar experience.[88] The Foreign Office did offer him a pass good for a one-way trip home, but neither Winnington nor his superiors wanted to test his luck. As British Communist leader Harry Pollitt told him in 1955, "We've got other things to do than run unsuccessful 'Don't-Hang-Winnington' campaigns."[89]

Conclusion

As the Cold War settled into a routine, the lessons of 1950-51 became part of the new consensus. The Cold War needed different rules than total war. A state struggling for its physical survival could suppress dissent and hang ideological traitors. But a state upholding liberal democratic ideals and engaged in long-term psychological warfare, as well as limited "hot" war, could not behave that way. It took the Korean War to make Britain's leaders realize this new fact. The state monitored dissent as closely as ever but balked at draconian measures. The *Daily Worker's* "subversion" continued, but it became less worrisome and less relevant as the Korea-induced crisis passed and Britain basked in the economic boom and welfare-state consensus of the 1950s and early 1960s.

But covert propaganda became more important than ever as the Cold War increasingly became a battle for "hearts and minds" in Britain and overseas. The British government discreetly used the IRD to produce and circulate information that would damage the credibility of dissidents and their arguments. Often these dissidents were Moscow-oriented Communists, but not always. Sometimes this information went directly to the news media,

but often it came indirectly through speeches, pamphlets, books, and other ingredients of the public discourse.

The Korean War also made the mainstream media more likely to push the boundaries of acceptable criticism on occasion, something that was seldom done in World War II. This was more likely when Britain's political establishment was divided on foreign policy, as was often the case after the 1951 Labour Party split. The widespread news media dissent over the 1956 Anglo-French invasion of Egypt during the Suez Crisis undoubtedly owed something to that history.

Similar controversies over the proper behavior for journalists during limited, undeclared war were played out for American benefit during the Vietnam War. The watershed case came in 1966 when Pulitzer Prize-winning *New York Times* journalist Harrison Salisbury traveled to Hanoi for two weeks and contradicted official American statements by reporting U.S. bombing of civilian areas. The stories in the country's leading newspaper were influential in spreading doubt about the government's policy in Vietnam and paved the way for others to go "behind enemy lines." Colleagues and government officials verbally attacked Salisbury, but the ultimate consequences were nothing worse than a snub by the Pulitzer Prize judges.[90]

The line between subversion and dissent in limited war continues to be an unsettled question. As time went on, it was renegotiated in Britain, the United States, and other Western democracies. Controversies over the war coverage of Vietnam, the Falklands, and Iraq show that this is still an intensely relevant question that will not go away.

Endnotes

1 For the war's diplomacy, see William Stueck, *The Korean War: An International History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Peter Lowe, *Containing the Cold War in Asia: British Polices Towards Japan, China and Korea, 1948-53* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 190-262. For military and political aspects of British involvement, see Callum MacDonald, *Britain and the Korean War* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990). The history of the news media and the Vietnam War has been analyzed in such works as Daniel Hallin, *The "Uncensored War": The Media and Vietnam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Clarence Wyatt, *Paper Soldiers: The American Press and the Vietnam War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993); and William M. Hammond *Reporting Vietnam: Media and Military at War* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1998).

2 The British propaganda response to the war is covered in Tony Shaw's "The Information Research Department of the British Foreign Office and the Korean War, 1950-53," *Journal of Contemporary History* 34 (1999), and Paul Lashmar and James Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War* (Stroud [UK]: Sutton, 1998), 39-48. Communist journalist Alan Winnington selectively plumbs his past for *Breakfast With Mao: Memoirs of a Foreign Correspondent* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1986). Phillip Knightley covers Korean War reporting in *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero,*

Propagandist, and Myth Maker (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), 336-356. The *Daily Worker's* travails are touched upon in Kevin Morgan, "The Communist Party and the *Daily Worker*, 1930-56," in *Opening the Books: Essays on the Social and Cultural History of British Communism*, ed. Geoff Andrews, Nina Fishman and Kevin Morgan (London: Pluto Press, 1995); Willie Thompson, *The Good Old Cause: British Communism, 1920-1991* (London: Pluto Press, 1992), 88; and Steve Parsons, "British 'McCarthyism' and the Intellectuals" in *Labour's Promised Land? Culture and Society in Labour Britain, 1945-51*, ed. Jim Fryth (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1995), 238-240. Richard Thurlow analyzes the government's fear of communism in *The Secret State: British Internal Security in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 279-293.

3 See Jean Seaton and James Curran, *Power Without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain*, 5th ed. (London: Routledge, 1997), 60-67; Neil Stammers, *Civil Liberties in Britain during the Second World War: A Political Study* (London: Croom Helm, 1983). For the anarchist and Polish cases, see Fortnightly Report, 2 January 1945, 833412/25, HO45/25553, Public Record Office, Kew, England (PRO); Frank Roberts Memo, 31 July, 1944, C8121/74/55, FO371/39441, PRO.

4 Keith Laybourn and Dylan Murphy, *Under the Red Flag: A History of Communism in Britain, c. 1849-1991* (Stroud [UK]: Sutton, 1999), 109.

5 Seaton and Curran, *Power Without Responsibility*, 66.

6 *Ibid.*, 132. Joyce had attracted up to a third of Britain's radio listeners during the 1939-40 "phoney war." His number of listeners later dwindled.

7 Francis Selwyn, *Hitler's Englishman: The Crime of "Lord Haw-Haw"* (London: Routledge, 1987). There was even pressure to prosecute well-known author P.G. Wodehouse for some light-hearted broadcasts he made for the Germans while he was in a civilian internment camp early in the war. A.J.P. Taylor, *English History, 1914-1945* Paperback Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 534.

8 Speakers and journalists frequently alluded to Joyce when discussing Communist activity in Korea. See, for example, "The Borderline of Treason," *Economist*, 11 August 1951.

9 Minutes of Ad Hoc Ministerial Meeting, 6 January 1947, CAB130/16. PRO.

10 Peter Weiler, *British Labour and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 228.

11 John Jenks, "Hot News/Cold War: The British State, Propaganda, and the News Media, 1948-53," (Ph.D. diss., University of California-Berkeley, 2000), 67-78.

12 Morgan, "The Communist Party and the *Daily Worker*."

13 Anthony Farrar-Hockley, *The British Part in the Korean War*, vol. 2, (London: HMSO, 1995), 420. For the most thorough account of British political life in 1950-51, see, Kenneth Morgan, *Labour in Power, 1945-1951* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 409-503.

14 The *Times* noted a "feeling of relief, almost of exhilaration" with the U.N. response. "Unity in Action, *Times* (London), 3 July 1950. Even the left-wing weekly *Tribune* applauded the Americans for upholding "the principle of collective defense against wanton aggression." "The True Meaning of Korea," Michael Foot, *Tribune*, 28 July 1950.

15 "Mr. Attlee's Call to the Nation: Let Us Arm Ourselves Against Evil," *Times* (London), 31 July 1950.

16 Hugh Dalton Diary, 3 August 1950, *The Political Diary of Hugh Dalton, 1918-1940, 1945-60*, ed. Ben Pimlott (London: Jonathan Cape, 1986), 480.

17 George Gallup, *International Public Opinion Polls: Great Britain, 1937-1975*, vol. 1, *1937-1964* (New York: Random House, 1976), 226.

18 Topic Collection: Korea, 1/A [July 1950], Mass-Observation Archives, The University Library (University of Sussex), Brighton, England.

19 The Royal Commission on the Press emphasized that in its 1949 report, criticizing the *Daily Worker* for its "highly tendentious" pro-Communist coverage. No other paper was criticized for bias in foreign reporting. *Royal Commission on the Press, 1947-1949: Report* (London: HMSO, 1949), 120-122.

20 "These Atrocities Must Stop!" *Daily Worker* (London), 15 July 1951.

21 "The Present International Situation and the Criminal Law: Memorandum by the Director of Public Prosecution," 1 July 1950, LO2/909, PRO. The legal gap between "war" and "police action" later became a chasm for prosecutors. See, R. Manningham-Buller to Sir Harold S. Kent, 6 December 1954, DEFE7/1805, PRO.

22 "Dockyard Explosion Inquiry," *Times* (London), 18 July 1950.

23 Cabinet Minute, 20 July 1950, CAB128/18, PRO. Communist-led dock workers in France had blocked American arms shipments earlier in the year.

24 Cabinet Minute, 25 July 1950, CAB128/18, PRO.

25 Cabinet Memorandum, 22 July 1950, C.P. (50) 183, CAB129/4, PRO; Cabinet Minute, 24 July 1950, CAB128/18, PRO.

26 Cabinet Memorandum, 12 September 1950, C.P. (50) 206, CAB129/42, PRO; Cabinet Minute, 18 September 1950, CAB128/18, PRO; Cabinet Minute 16 October 1950, CAB128/18, PRO; Cabinet Memorandum, 12 October 1950, C.P. (50) 229, CAB129/42, PRO. Many in the news media continued to fear sabotage, however. See, for example, William Connor Cassandra, "The Enemy Within," *Daily Mirror* (London), 7 November 1950.

27 "Man on the Spot," *Daily Worker* (London), 15 July 1950. Winnington was a career Communist from the suburban London middle class. For biographical details, see Winnnington, *Breakfast With Mao*.

28 "The damned impudence of it!" *Daily Worker* (London), 19 July 1950.

29 For example, see "Wonsan made a 'Coventry' by U.S. bombers," *Daily Worker* (London), 27 July 1950; and "Why Invaders Are Losing," *Daily Worker* (London), 7 August 1950.

30 "U.S. Belsen in Korea," *Daily Worker* (London), 9 August 1950.

31 Tokyo Embassy to Foreign Office, 15 August 1950, FK1661/8, FO371/84178, PRO. Historian Bruce Cumings has concluded that the massacre probably did occur, but that there were only about half the victims Winnington had claimed. He did not comment on Winnington's accusation of U.S. complicity. Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War, Vol. Two: The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 699-700.

32 Sang Hun Choe, "S. Korea Shot Thousands During War, Reports Say," *Los Angeles Times*, 21 April 2000.

33 "Review of *Daily Worker* Circulation," 22 June 1956, File: *Daily Worker* Memos, etc., 1943-57, HUTT/2/1, Allen Hutt Papers, Communist Party of Great Britain Archive, National Museum of Labour History, Manchester, England. Also, see Topic Collection: Korea, 1/A, July 1950, Mass-Observation Archive; Morgan, "The Communist Party and the *Daily Worker*," 152.

34 "Mr. Deakin Demands Action Against the Communist Party," *Manchester Guardian,* 18 September 1950; "Manchester Transport Men Refuse to Handle 'Daily Worker,'" *World's Press News and Advertisers' Review*, 22 September 1950. Deakin's pressure may have led Labour Minister George Isaacs to go on the BBC to warn of an imminent Communist plot to disrupt services. "Plot to Sabotage Dock and Road Transport," *Manchester Guardian,* 16 September 1950.

35 "The Wrong Way," *Manchester Guardian,* 18 September 1950. The boycott continued through the end of the year. "Manchester Delivery Ban on DW is Ended," *Daily Worker* (London), 16 December 1950.

36 Cabinet Memorandum, 14 September 1950, C.P. (50) 207, CAB129/42, PRO; Cabinet Minute, 18 September 1950, CAB128/18, PRO.

37 Peter Fleming, "War in Korea," *Spectator*, 21 July 1950.

38 See, "GI Saw 26 Men Tied and Shot," *Daily Telegraph,* 18 August 1950; "25,000 in Mass Graves," *Daily Telegraph,* 6 October 1950.

39 Before retreating, the South Koreans cleared the local jails of political prisoners by shooting them *en masse*. When they advanced they shot new suspects. The most notorious massacres were in December 1950 near Seoul before the city fell to the Communists for the second time. When the front stabilized in 1951 the South Koreans stopped shooting large numbers of prisoners in public. Still, U.N. investigators wanted to downplay South Korean culpability. See, "Political Executions and the Police System," 17 February 1951, FK1661/27. Calendar 124ii, *Documents on British Policy Overseas, Series II, Vol. IV, Korea: June 1950-April 1951* (London: HMSO, 1991).

40 Lowe, *Containing the Cold War in Asia,* 267. By contrast, the American press largely stayed silent. Knightley, *The First Casualty*, 343-4; Don Iddon, "Don Iddon from New York," *World's Press News and Advertisers' Review*, 1 December 1950.

41 Heren to Deakin, 16 October 1950. Deakin-Heren Correspondence, 1950-52, Deakin Papers, *The Times* Archives, London.

42 Special Correspondent, Korea [Louis Heren], "Seoul After Victory," *Times* (London), 25 October 1950.

43 Foreign Office to Pusan (South Korea) Legation, 2 November 1950, FK1661/15, FO371/84178, PRO. At the other end of the newspaper spectrum, the mass circulation *Daily Mirror's* correspondent sent in a lurid story of capricious brutality toward women and children, including the execution of a mother whose baby was torn from her arms shortly before guards shot her. Don Greenlees, "The United Nations Must Put a Stop to this BRUTALITY," *Daily Mirror* (London), November 7, 1950.

44 "Truth from the Times," *Daily Worker* (London), 26 October 1950.

45 Malcolm MacEwen, "Picture Post Editor is Sacked," *Daily Worker* (London), 1 November 1950. Two Sunday papers—the left-wing *Reynolds News* and the populist *Sunday Pictorial*—also published excerpts. "Editorial Viewpoint," *World's Press News and Advertisers' Review,* 10 November 1950.

46 "THIS was done in your name!" *Daily Worker* (London), 29 November 1950.

47 Christiansen to Beaverbrook, 14 December 1950, H/141, Beaverbrook Papers, House of Lords Record Office, London. Christiansen was explaining why he had not bought the execution photos for the mass circulation *Daily Express.* (The *Daily Worker* bought them instead.)

48 Imeson to Cole, [December 1950], Lawrence Kirwan Personnel File, Reuters Archive. London.

49 Alan Winnington, *I Saw the Truth in Korea,* (London: People's Press Printing Society, [1950]).

50 Cabinet Memorandum, 2 November 1950, C.P. (50) 259, CAB129/43, PRO.

51 Brook to Attlee, 3 November 1950, CAB21/2248, PRO.

52 Cabinet Minute, 6 November 1950, CAB128/18, PRO.

53 Cabinet Memorandum, 14 November 1950, C.P. (50) 269, CAB129/43, PRO.

54 Brook to Attlee, 15 November 1950, CAB21/2248, PRO.

55 Cabinet Minute, 20 November 1950, CAB128/18, PRO.

56 "Executions in South Korea," *Times* (London), 18 December 1950.

57 See, MacDonald, *Britain and the Korean War*, 40-52.

58 For example, the liberal *News Chronicle* refused to cover the committee's activities. See, George Cadbury to Laurence Cadbury, 22 February 1951 and Laurence Cadbury to George Cadbury, 1 March 1951. Box 88, Walter Layton Papers, Trinity College Library, Cambridge, England.

59 Leslie to Bridges, 23 January 1951, CAB124/79, PRO.

60 Jordan to Attlee, 13 January 1951, PREM8/1368, PRO. When the government tried a much lighter move, proposing a ban on "subversive propaganda" to several million army reservists, an unlikely combination of conservative, liberal, and left-wing Labour members of parliament shot it down. "Maliciously and Advisedly," *Economist,* 3 March 1951.

61 The Chinese captors had allowed neither the Red Cross nor British representatives into the POW camps and did not release the names of the POWs. That left the families of missing men in limbo, unaware if the men were dead or alive. But Winnington and other British war opponents had access. Ministry of Defence, *Treatment of British Prisoners of War in Korea* (London: HMSO, 1955), 21-27.

62 Some examples include "'Safe and Well' – Korea POWs: Messages to Families through Daily Worker," *Daily Worker* (London), 6 March 1951; and "Frank Tells his Wife 'We are on Wrong Side,'" *Daily Worker* (London), 15 March 1951.

63 "Sentinel," "Watchtower," *World's Press News and Advertisers' Review,* 23 March 1951.

64 "Korea and the 'Daily Worker,'" *Times* (London), 13 April 1950.

65 Monica Felton, *That's Why I Went* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1953).

66 "British Woman in Red Korea," *Daily Mail* (London), 9 June 1951. "Treason Allegation Causes Commons Sensation," *Daily Herald* (London), 15 June 1951. This closely followed the defection of diplomats Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, which had shocked the British public and establishment.

67 Minister of Local Government and Planning Hugh Dalton confided the obvious to his diary. The absences were a convenient pretext and allowed him to dodge the civil liberties issue. Dalton diary, 11 June 1951, I41, Box 17, Dalton Papers, British Library of Political and Economic Sciences, London. Also see, *Parl. Deb.*, Commons, 5th ser., 4854 (13 June 1951): 2308-2313.

68 *Parl. Deb.*, Commons 5th ser., 484 (14 June 1951): 2676-2686.

69 "Re: Monica Felton. Joint Opinion (Christmas Humphreys and John S. Bass)," 19 June 1951. LO2/909. PRO.

70 Cabinet Memorandum, 19 June 1951, CAB129/46, PRO; Soskice to Attlee, 22

June 1951, PREM8/11525, PRO. Felton later returned to North Korea, visited POWs, and won a Stalin Peace Prize for her work. Two other Britons also visited the POW camps. Ministry of Defence, *Treatment of British Prisoners*, p. 27.

71 Meeting Minutes, 13 August 1951, and "Subversive Activities: Draft Report to the Meeting of Ministers Under the Chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor," 15 October 1951, CAB130/71, PRO. The crime would carry a two-year-prison sentence and would not allow a truth defense if the government could prove that the writer or speaker had subversive intent.

72 John Foster, "High Treason and Korea: Ambiguous 'King's Enemies'," *Manchester Guardian,* 26 July 1951; "The Borderline of Treason," *Economist,* 11 August 1951.

73 Newsam to Fyfe, 11 July 1952, HO45/2515, PRO.

74 Memoranda on "UNC Faux Pas," Subject File: Korean War 1950-53, General Notes, Box 11 W.H. Vatcher Papers, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford; John Toland, *In Mortal Combat: Korea, 1950-53* (New York: William Morrow, 1991), 502-503. Of course, Winnington and Burchett's briefings reflected the Communist "spin" on the news. They apparently concentrated on diplomatic news and did not try to interest the Western reporters in atrocity stories

75 Robert Manne, *Agent of Influence: The Life and Times of Wilfred Burchett* (Toronto: Mackenzie Institute, 1989).

76 Note by D.C. Morland, 11 October 1951, INF12/525, PRO. The Defence Notice Committee was officially known as the Admiralty, War Office, Air Ministry and Press Committee. In a bizarre twist the *Daily Worker* still participated in the Defence Notice system throughout the Korean War. The government first dealt with the situation by withholding some D-Notices from the *Daily Worker* and then by creating a special class of DX-Notices for especially sensitive information that would not be sent to the Communist newspaper. Admiralty, War Office, Air Ministry and Press Committee Meeting Minutes, 7 April 1952, R28/5/3; Remarks Made by Mr. Pendred at the Meeting on the 17 May 1954, R/28/5/4, BBC Written Archives Centre.

77 Details on the IRD can be found in the FO1110 series at the PRO. Also, see Lashmar and Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War* and Shaw, "The Information Research Department."

78 See, Korean War – Documents and Correspondence, 1950-51, Labour Party International Department, Labour Party Archives, National Museum of Labour History; Lean to Murray, 2 October 1950, E2/325/2, BBC Written Archives Centre; Meeting Minutes, 30 March 1951, Hembry to Scott, 25 May 1951, and Peck to McDermid, 13 December 1951, INF12/781, PRO. Also, see Murray Minute, 8 January 1951, Strang to Newsam, 11 January 1951, PR68/3/G/51, FO1110/422, PRO; Meeting Minutes, 30 March 1951, Hembry to Scott, 25 May 1951, and Peck to McDermid, 13 December 1951, INF12/781, PRO; Murray Minute, 8 Jan. 1951, Strang to Newsam, 11 January 1951, PR68/3/G/51, FO1110/422, PRO; Poston to Murray, 20 February 1951, Murray to Poston, 8 March 1951, PR104/1/51/G, FO1110/446, PRO; Murray to King-Hall, 19 June 1950, PR85/10, FO111/344.

79 Kathryn Weathersby, "Deceiving the Deceivers: Moscow, Beijing, Pyongyang, and the Allegations of Bacteriological Weapons Use in Korea," *Cold War International History Project, Bulletin 11: Flashpoints*, Winter 1998. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C. This has not convinced everyone. See, Stephen Endicott and Edward Hagerman, *The United States and Biological Warfare: Secrets from the Early Cold War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

80 Tull Minute, 25 March 1952, PR41/81, FO1110/494, PRO.

81 Nutting to IRD, 5 December 1952, PR41/366, FO1110/494, PRO.

82 Wilford to Pitblado, 27 September 1952, PR41/273/G, FO1110/494, PRO. By contrast the American use of napalm against North Korean cities was an undisputed fact that disturbed many in Britain. See MacDonald, *Britain and the Korean War*, 82.

83 Memorandum of Conversation (Adam Watson and Jesse MacKnight), 25 September 1953, British - Memos of Conversation, 1952, Box 2, Miscellaneous Records of the Bureau of Public Affairs (State Department), Lot 58 D 753, RG 59, U.S. National Archives, College Park, MD.

84 Cabinet Minute, 15 December 1954, CAB128/27, PRO.

85 Newling Note, 4 March 1955, DEFE7/1805, PRO. The government distributed 700 copies to the British press to ensure a splashly release. Cabinet Minute, C.C. 19 (55) 4, CAB128/28, PRO.

86 Cabinet Minute, C.C. 20 (55) 6, CAB128/28. PRO.

87 "Winnington's Passport Seized," *Daily Worker* (London), 19 March 1954.

88 Felton settled in India to avoid ostracism in Britain. "Obituary: Dr. Monica Felton: Former New Town Head," *Times* (London), 5 March 1970. The British and Australian governments cooperated in denying Burchett a new passport after his British documents were stolen in 1955. Alex Carey, "The Bureaucratic Passport War: Wilfred Burchett and the Australian Government," in *Burchett Reporting the Other Side of the World, 1939-1983*, ed. Ben Kiernan (London: Quartet Books, 1986).

89 Winnington, *Breakfast with Mao*, 178. Winnington lived in China, then East Berlin until he was finally given his passport and allowed back into Britain in the very different political climate of 1968. "Journalist Back after 14 years," *Times* (London), 15 July 1968.

90 Wilfred Burchett, who was then reporting Southeast Asia from the Communist side, helped him get to Hanoi. Harrison Salisbury, *A Time of Change: A Reporter's Tale of Our Time* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 118; "Behind Enemy Lines," *Newsweek*, 9 January 1967; John R. MacArthur, "Witness in Hanoi," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January-February 1997, 49.

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Grit Your Teeth, then Learn to Swear: Women in Journalistic Careers, 1850-1926

by Agnes Hooper Gottlieb

What was journalism like for those who pioneered it as a career for women? This article synthesizes the many different perspectives of women in journalism that were published in popular and trade publications since 1850. It paints a picture of unequal pay, sexual exploitation, harassment, and a hostile work environment that women endured because they felt a passion for the profession.

"The girl who has it in her to survive for newspaper work will cry the first time a man swears at her, grit her teeth the second time, and swear back the third time."

—The Journalist *trade magazine, 26 January 1889*

In January 1889, the weekly trade publication *The Journalist* dedicated a 24-page edition to women journalists. Today it reads like a fluffy litany of who's who among the "Mrs." and "Madames," but a century ago its publication signaled the profession's unofficial acceptance of women within the ranks. *Journalist* editor Allan Forman said his purpose in publishing a women's edition (other than the unspoken desire to convince women reporters to subscribe to his magazine) was to "disabuse thousands of the case-hardened old fogies of the idea that a newspaper woman in any way interferes with the men, or that she is any less a woman because she earns her living by wielding a 'Dixon' instead of sewing on buttons for the 'lords of creation.'"[1]

Contrast Forman's attitude and acceptance of women in the profession, however, with that of *Ladies Home Journal* editor Edward Bok a decade later: "A newspaper office certainly tends to make a woman too inde-

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pendent, too free, too broad. It establishes her on a footing with men that is not wise; it gives her opportunities of freedom that are not uplifting . . ."[2] His article, "Is the Newspaper Office the Place for a Girl?" was designed to discourage his readers and/or their daughters from seeking jobs in journalism. Ironically, this editor of a woman's publication believed there was no place for women in the newsroom.

This article asks the fundamental question, "What was journalism like for those who pioneered it as a career for women?" To answer the question, dozens of articles from popular magazines, women's publications, and the newspaper trade journal, *The Journalist*, were analyzed. These were supplemented by previously published interviews with and writings by women journalists themselves about their craft.[3] The purpose was to create a picture of journalistic work for women beginning about 1850, when women began securing jobs as writers on newspapers, and then describe experiences in this career through 1926, the year journalism instructor Genevieve Jackson Boughner codified women's position in the profession with her book, *Women in Journalism: A Guide to the Opportunities and a Manual of the Technique of Women's Work for Newspapers and Magazines.*[4] By contrasting the articles about women journalists in the general press with articles about women in the trade press, this article demonstrates the differing rhetorics—of acceptance in the trade press and of discouragement and rejection in the general press—that were at work at the same time. The goal was to explore how women's newspaper work was portrayed to the general public in contrast with the way journalists themselves—both men and women—considered the presence of women in the profession and consider the reasons why they were so different.

Popular Impressions of Women in Journalism

Throughout the nineteenth century, the number of women journalists steadily increased. In 1870, the U.S. Census established a category for women who made their living as journalists, but it contained only thirty-five persons, less than 0.6 percent of all working journalists. By 1890, 4 percent of journalists as identified by the census were women.[5] In addition to those who considered themselves journalists, other women occasionally sold articles, as well as poetry and fiction, to publications and were paid per item accepted. Still, by 1890, the number of women journalists had swelled significantly so that their presence in the previously all-male occupation of journalism was cause for comment—newspapers and magazines had printed articles about it and the trade magazine *The Journalist* had devoted an issue to profiles of fifty important women journalists. And, by 1900, the U.S. Census reported that 2,193 women defined their occupations as journalists.[6] In fact, throughout the nineteenth century, many women wrote ar-

ticles for magazines and newspapers, but they were not identified as journalists. When Frances Willard, head of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, devoted a chapter on "Newspaper Women" in her 1897 book, *Occupations for Women*, she observed that there were, in fact, two types of newswomen. As she explained it, literary women wrote for newspapers in the "shelter of their own homes," while professionals, who "take assignments" from editors, worked in newsrooms.[7]

By 1890, women journalists had found new opportunities in newspaper employment because of an increase in women's pages. Editors and publishers attempted to attract the readership of the wives and mothers who shopped and spent money in the family. They realized that the easiest way to make newspapers important to these consumers was to fashion articles that appealed to them within their home sphere. Consequently, the 1890s saw a proliferation of articles about fashion, women's clubs, cooking, and housekeeping. By the end of the century, many newspapers devoted full pages to traditional women's interests. Editors knew that the best people to write material aimed at women were women themselves.

Why a career in journalism anyway?

In the second half of the nineteenth century, prominent women set themselves up as role models for others when they turned to journalism to promote their causes or seek financial support for themselves. Women like Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and other suffragists used journalism to promote women's equality. Frances Willard, the force behind the Women's Christian Temperance Union and a writer herself, promoted journalism as "the broadest field in which women could work most successfully in the future." Writers like Louisa May Alcott supported themselves and their families with serialized versions of their fiction. Many aspiring novelists saw magazine and newspaper journalism as a first step in their writing apprenticeship. Ida Tarbell, the muckraker behind the break up of the Standard Oil monopoly, said she had no intention of spending a career writing when she took her first job at *Chautauqua* magazine. "To me it was only a temporary thing . . . It was a stop-gap—nothing more," she said.[8]

Although few rose to such lofty heights as Tarbell or Alcott, women were undaunted in their journalistic aspirations. Then, too, throughout the nineteenth century there were few career paths open to educated women—teacher, governess, and, toward the end of the century, nurse. But those were public positions where a woman had to go out into the world to earn her keep. Writing could be done at home and was seen as a more genteel way of earning a living. An article in *Harper's Weekly* noted that women "who wish to'do something nice' and are schooled in nothing" flocked to journalism.

Women who wanted to defy convention also were lured to journalism, excited by the possibility of working in the male-sanctioned newsroom. Still others believed that if you wanted to meet a man, you needed to go where the men were—and there were plenty in a newsroom. Lured by the hope of a husband, women sought jobs as reporters. "Indeed, one should not be too bitterly surprised if it fails altogether to materialize," one veteran cautioned.[9]

Women also thought, mistakenly, that journalism was easy. "Journalism seems to be regarded by a large class as a sort of refuge for those who have failed in every other avocation," noted *Harper's Bazaar* editor Mary Booth, whose publication relied heavily on the contributions of women writers. She scoffed that novices "expect to earn fortunes by their crude pen-products, when, perhaps, they don't even know how to write a letter correctly."[10] Emily Crawford, an editor in England, received requests for "light newspaper work" from those who had failed at everything else. "All newspaper work puts strain on the worker," she said. Constant deadlines placed overwhelming demands on the worker. "Press work taxes so heavily one's vitality that only those who have great reserves of nervous force can stand it," she concluded.[11]

The well-known and respected journalist Jane Cunningham Croly, who wrote under the pen name "Jennie June," believed women were wooed to the profession by inaccurate popular accounts of high salaries and glamour. "The most absurd stories have been told as to the amount of money earned by women employed as editors and correspondents, and this has excited the imagination of girls and women, and led them to suppose that fame and fortune waited for them at the threshold of every newspaper office," she asserted.[12] *The Independent*, for example, suggested college girls consider journalism as a career: "Journalism . . . is a vocation to which women are peculiarly adapted by temperament, . . . All of the thirteen schools of journalism now in operation in this country admit women on the same terms as men."[13]

Still another writer argued that so many women were seeking careers in journalism by 1900 because the job had been glamorized to excess in romantic fiction writing. Women like Evelyn Hastings found adventure and, ultimately an enviable career, when they sojourned to New York.[14] "These newspaper women of fiction . . . are likely to put false notions into the head of the young person who comes up from Podunk to try newspaper work in a great city. If she has taken the careers of these heroines as her standard of measurement, she is doomed . . . ."[15] Women who thought they would be writing front page news stories were relegated to the women's sections where they "may be called upon to write lotion recipes for the cure of freckles, and settle the doubts of Lovable Lizzie."[16] Articles meant to dash the hopes of enthusiastic greenhorns did nothing to discourage the enthusiasts who flocked to big cities to seek their success. As Sadie Mossler recounted, "It is generally

conceded that for one woman who succeeds in the metropolitan newspaper field about ten fail before the vicissitudes of city life, the orders of managing editors, and the merciless grind of the big city's working world."[17] Still, more and more women pursued careers in journalism.

During the 1890s, true life imitated fiction as stunt girls like Nellie Bly and Annie Laurie transformed the image of a drudgery job in a smoke-filled newsroom into an adventurous romp. The stunt girls put women journalists on the front page of newspapers for the first time and, for at least a brief period before the fad faded, played a part in luring young women with unrealistic expectations into journalism.

The Foot in the Door

When Elizabeth Bisland arrived in New York from New Orleans, the first editor she met told her bluntly to go home. She refused, then persevered until she could earn her keep with her writing.[18] Typical, too, of women's experiences clinching jobs in journalism was Louise Malloy, who was hired at the *Baltimore American* circa 1880. Malloy, fresh out of a convent finishing school, enlisted the intercession of a family friend who had a connection with the *American*'s publisher. This provided Malloy an entree, but then she was handed a ridiculous assignment by contemporary journalistic standards: take a walk through Baltimore's business district and write a story about what you see, including an account of the weather. The editors liked what she wrote and she was hired.[19] This obtuse writing tryout, according to Eleanor Hoyt of *Collier's Weekly*, was used by editors who "were less stony-hearted than the rest" to the steady stream of women who came through their offices looking for work. Like Malloy, many women secured letters of introduction from a prominent editor, writer, or publisher in the hope that this would open doors. But after countless rejections, the women realized these letters were useless.

Helen Winslow, who had been dabbling in poetry and story writing, decided to seek her first journalism job in the 1870s because she needed to earn her keep. She saw it as a stepping-stone to other more lofty writing.[20] She applied to four Boston newspapers, and each managing editor she met promised to call when he needed her. Winslow realized later that this was how male editors treated all women who aspired to be journalists. She never heard from any of them. Still another woman suggested that editors would often promise to give his personal attention to any stories or articles that were sent his way. "It seems almost a waste of words to say that he as promptly returns the revamped manuscripts she has sent him with cock-sure confidence."[21]

One woman who was hired as woman's page editor secured her job by offering to work for free for a month. Another, Beatrice Sturges, said that

she was hired in her first journalism job because the editor was looking for "an intelligent stenographer who can spell and punctuate."[22]

Rose Young, who edited the women's department at the *New York Post*, suggested that young women should offer editors a story they couldn't refuse. Like Nellie Bly, who secured her job on Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* by feigning insanity for an expose, women could break into journalism by approaching the editors with tantalizing story ideas. Young described how a woman penetrated the fortress of a popular fashion magazine by sending her card in to the editor's office with the written promise: "I can get for your magazine detailed descriptions of every gown in Consuelo Vanderbilt's trousseau. I can have the copy in your hands tonight."[23]

Women lucky enough to penetrate the inner sanctum often found themselves working for women's pages, children's sections, book reviews, and other genteel departments deemed ladylike and appropriate. At midcentury, the taboo against women's names appearing in print was great and many of the earliest writers used pen names—Olivia, Grace Greenwood, Jennie June, Fanny Fern. That tradition gradually faded by century's end, except for women engaged in stunt journalism, who also resorted to pen names to preserve their anonymity. In fact, by 1900, bylines for women were more common than those for men.

Few women broke the barriers that kept them off the front page. One way around this was to stoop to sensational writing, called "gutter journalism." One woman attempting to break into journalism was asked by an editor to write "spicy articles—the naughtier the better." An article in the popular *Collier's* asserted that it was "impossible for a woman to make a success of yellow journalism and maintain her self-respect" but noted that yellow journalism was about the only place where the jobs could be found.[24] The reform-minded *Arena* magazine noted that women were lured into this racy, disreputable journalism in big cities, where they had come to seek their fortune. When doors closed in mainstream newspapers and money dwindled, women were forced to accept jobs that embarrassed them. Or, naive women with "gumption" were enticed into the intoxicatingly exciting world of gutter journalism. They braved police beats, interviews with tough characters like prizefighters, and, ultimately, stunt journalism assignments. This cynical cycle lasted four years, from fresh-faced greenhorn to washed-up bitter has-been, then began again with yet another hopeful candidate.

Winslow, writing for Boston newspapers, said this endless cycle of young girls through the newsroom scared her into leaving daily journalism. She said she began her magazine for club women for economic reasons because she believed that as she grew older she would be pushed aside in the newspaper business: "Women had become plentiful in journalistic ranks—women who could do sensational work, whose health was more reliable, and who had the advantage of being young."[25] At the age of 46, Winslow (who lived

another 40 years) was concerned that she would be poverty-stricken and unemployed if she remained in daily journalism.

Good Looks Helped

Being young and pretty in this profession had its advantages. One writer described an editor who preyed on mere girls in need of money and asked her "Was I not a brave girl to come to such a big city by myself and try to make my way?" He bragged that he was a "literary sweater," a reference to sweatshop exploitation, and hired young women at low wages then published their work under his own byline. One prospective employee complained that this same editor was forward and tried to kiss her.

Winslow fared no better. When she finally secured a fifteen dollar per week job as editor of the new woman's page of a Boston newspaper, the editor who had hired her left after three weeks, and the new editor gave Winslow's position to another woman who looked more needy. "I could not tell him that I had nothing but the clothes I wore, and that beyond the paltry fifteen dollars I knew not how I should live," Winslow recalled.[26] Like other proud women of her class, however, Winslow did not argue with her editor over the injustice of the situation.

In her next job, she met with other difficulties. Hired as eastern correspondent for a western daily newspaper, Winslow was paid well at first. "[B]ut the wild and woolly editor wanted to marry me, without the preliminaries of meeting," Winslow wrote. When she refused, she was fired. Winslow still was not dissuaded from a career as a writer. She continued submitting articles to Boston newspapers and occasionally earned up to eighty dollars a week for her work, although, more often, she earned less than ten dollars. Eventually Winslow submitted articles regularly to three newspapers and was in charge of filling about twenty-eight columns of copy a week.[27]

So What Was It Like to Be a Journalist?

Despite tales of heroic adventure, romance, and fun in fictional accounts of women journalists, it appears that the climate for women reporters in reality was an inhospitable one. Women journalists recounted stories of editors who paid them less than men who did similar jobs, who tried to take sexual advantage of them, who printed articles but then refused to pay for them, and who treated them pejoratively and as interlopers in their newsrooms. The women told of the drudgery they were assigned to because of their sex and about how journalism spoiled their rosy attitudes and made cynics out of the best of them. Consider the reaction of newspaper women to the following question, posed by a magazine editor: "If you had a young daughter, desirous or forced to go into the outer world, would you, from

your experience as a newspaper woman, approve of her working in a daily newspaper? If not, why not? And under what, if any, circumstances or conditions would you sanction it?"[28] Forty-two women, less than half of them married, answered the question. Thirty-nine said they would not approve it, and only three said they would. Said one, "I scarcely know a woman who has been engaged in newspaper work who has not broken down, at least temporarily."

The author also wrote to fifty males editors to see what they thought. Their answers indicate what an uphill battle these pioneer women had to face:

> I have been so impressed that girls have no place on the staff of a newspaper that during the past six months I have cut down my women editors and reporters from twelve to two and these latter leave us next month. Entirely aside from the loss to themselves which the life entailed, I found they disorganized our reportorial force, the men often covertly doing the work assigned to the women and the women turning the 'copy' in. This may have been gallantry, but it was not business.[29]

Another magazine article described the attributes a woman reporter needed: conscientiousness, fidelity to truth, absence of hypersensitiveness, common sense in dress, self-confidence, and "exemption from the hypochondriacal tendency to which so many women are prone."[30] Still another noted women needed "good health, more than average intelligence, dogged persistence and indomitable pluck."[31] While another said a woman who wanted to be an editor needed to exhibit: "Invincible patience, continual attention to details, tireless self-sacrifice, an intuitive vicarious consciousness, power of synthesis, power of analysis, tranquil impartiality, keen discrimination, [and] a habit of surveying both sides of a question."[32]

The British editor Crawford cautioned, "No woman ought to think of writing for a livelihood unless in addition to special aptitude she possesses dauntless courage, exceptional health and powers of physical endurance, and a considerable about of reserve force."[33] Crawford also recommended that aspiring journalists learn to type. "More typewriters and fewer pianos!" she asserted.[34] In fact, as the typewriter became an important tool, it became a vital job requirement that women applicants for reporting positions knew how to type.[35]

Despite Herculean characteristics needed for the job, women considered themselves a part of the newsroom by the turn of the century. When a writer for a social science journal posed the question "Is Newspaper Work Healthful for Women?" the answer was a firm "yes." Noting that many women suffered "nervous exhaustion" from their years as newspaper women,

the author concluded that if women dressed properly and ate well they were equal to the task of reporting.[36]

Other writers for the popular press argued that novices believed, mistakenly, that journalism was "light" work, but that the women who actually got jobs discovered it was quite the contrary. The writers also discovered that it was nearly impossible for a woman to balance a journalism career with a fulfilling home life. Still, they indicated an unusual individual might be able to manage motherhood. "But she ought to have a good housekeeper, and will have to send her children to school," one writer noted.[37]

Twenty years earlier, in 1872, the atmosphere for women in journalism was noticeably chillier. Consider this passage, written by a woman:

> I think that all trained journalists will agree with me that the post of managing editor could never be competently filled by a woman, no matter how brilliant her genius, how thorough and acute her business talent, how perfect her organization. It is in the first place physically impossible. No woman of the requisite intellectual capacity is strong enough in body, whatever she may be in determination to endure the strain of the position . . . A model manager should be a man strong in body as in brain, courageous both physically and morally, full of fine tact and practical resource, a keen judge of character, and possessing a degree of decision almost amounting to obstinacy.[38]

A Job Worth Praying For

Yet women who eventually did become newspaper reporters often reminisced that the reason they ultimately succeeded was because of their passion. "I burned, or thought I did, to produce great thoughts which should make somebody better and happier when finally reduced to the medium of cold black and white," wrote a reporter identified as "J.L.H." in *Harper's Weekly*.[39] Selene Armstrong wrote in *Collier's* that she so loved her work that she started each day with this prayer: "Thank you, dear God, for a new day in this wonderful world. Thank you for letting me hear again the click of the typewriters, the whir of the presses, and the shrill, piping voices of the newsboys."[40] Passion was often coupled by an ability to write well, which had been complimented on during school years, and a need to earn money. Uniformly among women journalists of the nineteenth century can be found an absence of family money and a real need for the woman to support herself, her parents, and/or her children. This group of scribblers who turned to journalism often had never married or, if married, often divorced. Even when women journalists were involved in true marriage partnerships, they were forced, often for reasons of their husband's ill health, to support the families. Elizabeth Cochrane, journalism's Nellie Bly, for example, turned

to journalism when she was forced to support herself and her mother after her father died. When Cochrane married, she retired from journalism until economic necessity reared itself again. Crawford began writing in earnest when her husband died suddenly and she needed to support her children. Croly, meanwhile, bore a major financial burden for her family. Her husband David often was out of work and was forced by ill health to retire in the 1870s.

In a "How-to" article that articulated the dos and don'ts for women who want to be journalists, editor W.T. Stead insinuated just what was wrong with women in the profession. Many of them, he asserted, wanted special treatment and cream-puff assignments. "Ladies with such notions had better stay at home in their drawing-rooms and boudoirs. The great, rough, real, workaday world is no place for them," he warned. Women journalists should be ladylike, not mannish, and willing to tackle any assignment at any time but should never ask for a chaperone. She should be able to take public criticism and should be willing to work for free to prove herself. She should learn shorthand, possess fine penmanship, and be proficient with the typewriter.[41] Stead did not state whether his male reporters needed these same skills.

A Hostile Work Environment

A major barrier to women in journalism, as evidenced from their writing, was the newspaper and magazine editors themselves. Typical was the sentiment of one unidentified New York editor. He told J.L.H. that he had six women on staff and was reluctant to fire them because they were supporting families, but "he hated to see women around a newspaper office, and he thought those contemplating such a career should be promptly discouraged."[42]

Another editor argued that a woman reporter was unseemly because she had to be out in all sorts of weather, at ungodly hours, and had to associate with male reporters even while she encroached upon their turf. This, he argued "is not an occasion which tends to the development of feminine graces."[43] Still another editor said he refused to hire women because he did not like the idea that they would have to go out into the rain.[44] That editors were inhospitable was not surprising. Croly noted that women were held back simply because men were not used to their presence in the newsroom. "They will stand carelessness, negligence, even drunkenness from a man, because that is the regular order of things, but a woman, without trial, is generally understood to be a 'nuisance' in a newspaper office," she lamented.[45]

The women reporters themselves discouraged other women from trying the field, perhaps in part because they knew each newspaper usually had

a quota of one woman on staff and that to encourage others was simply to encourage competition. Selena Armstrong, in her article in *Collier's*, asserted that women journalists all had two common characteristics: they sold the story of their careers to popular magazines and they discouraged competition from the adoring women who were inspired by the printed accounts of their careers. "[S]he delivered dreadful warnings to young girls . . . 'Of course, I would not turn back now, if I could, young woman,' she always says with a mournful look, 'but I should hate to see any girl go through the experiences I have had to face.' Then she urged those poor frightened girls to give up all idea of a journalistic career, and to pursue the safer, if less honest, course of leading unsuspecting men to the altar and charging their expense accounts to them forever after."[46]

Then again, not only women journalists were jealous of female competition. Male colleagues also were uncomfortable with the glory the women journalists were experiencing. Winslow remembered that after she secured a job to start a woman's section for an unnamed Boston newspaper, her editor insisted she sign her name to her articles.[47] She agreed, but then was upset because copy editors in the city department were "mutilating" her page. The managing editor conceded that the editors were upset because "you are getting a great deal of glory out of it and some of the men upstairs, who do good work but are not allowed to sign it, are jealous . . ."[48]

Low Pay, and Sometimes No Pay

Then, as now, women journalists could expect to earn less than their male counterparts, while women also faced the prospect of earning nothing at all. "The articles I tendered for publication were accepted and printed but not paid for," observed J.L.H.[49] Another noted that her editor paid her—compliments, not cash—for the articles he printed.[50] Another woman estimated that she wrote for free for two or three years before finally receiving a five-dollar check. She then earned about three hundred dollars a year, but after twenty years, her salary was between twenty-five hundred dollars and thirty-five hundred dollars annually.[51] Croly said women earned so little because editors believed they could take advantage of women. "Women in newspaper offices, therefore, as elsewhere, are drudges, obliged to do a large amount of work for small pay," Croly noted. Members of the Woman's Press Club of New York City became so distressed by this tendency of editors to stiff unestablished women writers that they formed a special legal committee, headed by a member who was also a lawyer, to seek delinquent payments.

Margaret E. Sangster, editor of *Harper's Bazaar*, said the top salary for women editors in 1895 was five thousand dollars annually, but that up to three thousand dollars a year was more realistic. "And $50 or $60 a week is

a usual and is considered by most women a generous wage for continuous and exhausting work, taxing every power they possess." She estimated that women who headed special departments, such as the women's page, could expect a weekly salary ranging from fifteen dollars to forty dollars a week. "The daily wear and tear on nerves, temper and clothing, of obligatory office attendance, cannot be adequately stated or paid for in dollars and cents," she wrote. Women, therefore, had to love their jobs to put up with its requirements.[52]

In 1915, Rose Young wrote in *Good Housekeeping* that women could expect to earn about six dollars per column for freelance material and about seventeen dollars a week as a cub reporter, which she noted was about three dollars less than the average male cub reporter. A good salary was thirty dollars a week, while editors of women's pages could earn between thirty-five dollars and sixty dollars.[53]

Their counterparts in England fared no better and, evidenced from the articles printed in London magazines, might actually have had a more difficult time breaking into and staying in the profession. One unnamed woman described her attempt to break into the "magic circle" on Fleet Street. Desperately poor, but unaccustomed to working or being with women who earned their keep, this woman also described the accepted routine, similar to American custom, of seeking employment through "a letter of introduction to a great—a journalistically great—man." But as she quickly learned "such letters are not worth the paper they are written on" but were part of an accepted system of letting an aspiring journalist down easily.[54]

Women club leaders and suffragists lamented in 1914 that women journalists in England were only allowed to write about society "tittle-tattle." "Who is to blame for this lamentable state of affairs? The men who thrusted these papers upon us or the women who read them?" Across the English Channel in France, women journalists fared somewhat better and, like their American counterparts, often wrote articles about social reforms, philanthropical activities, and equal rights.[55] Still, women in Paris were paid less for equal work as men; they could expect to earn between thirty dollars and sixty dollars a month. "The work is most trying for the health and the women live in perfect fear of being replaced by men," one article noted. In fact, while women were expected to sign off on fashion articles emanating from the fashion capital of the world, the work was often done by men who wrote under women's bylines![56]

Booth, Croly, and other prominent women journalists believed that, despite poor salaries, adversity, and prejudices, journalism was a fine career choice for women. Booth, in fact, argued that the characteristics that made women different from men were the very characteristics that made their contributions to journalism valuable. "Their acute and subtle intuition, and habits of keen observation, readiness of thought, and refined taste, fit them

to succeed both as contributors and editors," she said. *The Arena*, a popular reform-minded publication, asserted in 1897 that women brought a sensitivity to the profession that was lacking in men: "Newspapers need women. They need a woman's pen; she has proved that. They need a woman's eyes with which to see, and they need a woman's sentiment with which to clothe the rude realities of life."[57] Another writer suggested that women were better interviewers and listeners than men were and also could afford to be more audacious. "She is a woman, therefore may be rude; she is a woman, therefore he may not be rude to her," the writer stated.[58]

Press clubs for women became popular as more and more women entered the profession.[59] This made sense because it provided the women who were isolated in the workplace with a form of network that gave moral support to its members. As one aspiring journalist observed, "One is horribly handicapped in being a woman. A man meets other men at his club; he can be out and about at all hours; he can insist without being thought bold and forward; he is not presumed to be capable of undertaking only a limited class of subjects, but is set to anything."[60]

The Trade Press

The 26 January 1889 edition of *The Journalist* marked the beginning of the publication's formal campaign to woo women readers. Editor Forman devoted the pages to short descriptions of the work of dozens of women journalists and said he could "publish a volume the size of Webster's Unabridged Dictionary and then not half cover the field." He featured an in-depth profile of Louise Knapp, then editor of *LHJ*, on the cover and in subsequent weeks, he published other feature profiles of women journalists. In addition, he hired Margherite Arlina Hamm to write a regular column, "Among the Newspaper Women," which sometimes filled more than two pages of mostly gossip and advice for women journalists. Cynics could argue that all this was merely an attempt to bolster circulation (and Forman did include a special subscription offer to women journalists), but motivation aside, the moment was an important event historically because it signaled recognition within the profession itself that women were there to stay.

While general magazines and women's magazines questioned whether women should even be reporters or editors, *The Journalist* provided serious counsel and advice to women who were already there. *The Journalist* urged women to drop the use of numerous pen names, suggesting that women who wrote under different names for many publications would never be able to build a solid reputation.[61] When the journal posed the question "What is the woman's place in a newspaper office?" the resounding answer was that "As far as treatment goes in a newspaper office, a woman is a man and a man a woman, there is no difference—they are all reporters."[62] It

provided a forum for news of women's press clubs and recommendations that clubs be formed. When dissension threatened to weaken the club in New York, the journal issued a plea that the women put aside their differences and work together.

One article in the woman's edition did speak about the isolation of newspaperwomen because of their singular status on most newspapers, but it clearly was tempered by all the positive articles that surrounded it. The women were described as "daring and plucky," "alert and graceful," "the princess of the press," "a writer of rare ability," and in other laudatory ways.

Hamm's column "Among the Newspaper Women" developed into a Liz Smith-type gossip column. For example, Hamm, noting that she got her information from "a little bird," described in one column how Boston's Sally Joy White, after she was removed as president of the New England Woman's Press Association, formed another organization because she "could not live without being president of something . . ."[63]

Conclusion

Nineteenth century women journalists publicly lamented their status, work conditions and mental state in popular magazine articles. When Winslow stepped down as editor of *The Club Woman* in 1903, she feared her years of newspaper and magazine writing had ruined her for more noble writing assignments. "I am a squeezed lemon," she said.[64] She lamented that newspaper work, meant to be a stepping stone to a glorious writing career, had dulled her mental capacities.

While Winslow was wrong (she later carved out a successful second career as a novelist), her negative attitude toward journalism in general reflected the opinion of many women who had themselves succeeded in newspaper work. A half century earlier, Margaret Fuller succinctly stated the woman dilemma: "What a vulgarity there seems in this writing for the multitude!"[65] And even Croly complained to *New York World* editor Joseph Pulitzer in 1884 that she simply could not "write the rotten rubbish" that newspapers expected of her.[66]

The attitudes of women like Winslow, Fuller, and Croly, who turned to journalism because they needed to support themselves, reflected a uniform dislike of daily newspaper journalism. Yet articles in the trade press were more uplifting, upbeat, and matter of fact about women's status. Why the contrast between the general press, including women's magazines, and the trade press? Perhaps the answer is as simple as understanding the audiences. When women were asked to write for the general reader about journalism, it was important that they emphasized the uphill battles they had fought. That was simply telling a good story. When *The Journalist* com-

mented on women in the profession, there was no need to tell stories of doors slammed and rejection slips. The readers were already beyond that.

Eventually, the tone of articles in the general press changed, too. By 1922, when *Collier's Weekly* asked a women reporter hypothetically "If you had a younger sister, would you let her be a reporter?" she answered enthusiastically, "I have one and she is."[67] Still a Vassar College professor just the year before had observed that women reporters were the first to be fired and the last to be hired.[68] When Dorothy Thompson, then a foreign correspondent in Berlin, was asked by *The Nation* in 1926 to write an article about women journalists overseas, she expressed surprise that such a phenomenon should be cause for comment. Although she did, indeed, manage to fill more than a page on the topic, she stated that there was "nothing extraordinary" about a woman in the job and suggested that "the see-what-the-little-darling-has-done-now attitude ought to be outlawed."[69] As far as Thompson was concerned, and nearly forty years after *The Journalist* began its commentary on them, women journalists had arrived.

Fellow newspaperwoman Genevieve Jackson Boughner agreed. Her *Women in Journalism* career guidebook noted that women in 1926 were poised on "the threshold of opportunity" as journalists.[70] In separate chapters, she described a score of job opportunities for women, including positions as society editor, club reporter, home-making writer, fashion reporter, columnist, magazine editor, and syndicate writer. She suggested that women were commonplace enough in journalism that it was important for them to be trained in journalism with a specific emphasis like sports, politics, or medicine. Clearly, women were no longer a rarity in editorial offices. Between 1920 and 1930, the number of women reporters and editors doubled to 14,786.[71]

It hadn't always been so. Throughout the nineteenth century, women aspired to be journalists working on magazines and newspapers. Some succeeded. Those who did often thought it important enough to disseminate their experiences to other women—often to warn them of the pitfalls and to discourage them. They did this through the forum of popular magazines. During the time period described here, from the first article in 1872 to the last one in 1926, the topic of women in journalism was a popular one. Why? Clearly the phenomenon of women moving en masse into jobs that had previously been assigned exclusively to men was worthy of notice. General magazines, which served as commentators on all social trends and considered themselves adjudicators of popular culture, provided the appropriate forum for the debate. Articles such as "Is the Newspaper Office the Place for a Girl?" not only aired the negative aspects of these jobs, but popularized and glamorized journalism.

A picture of what it was like for women venturing into this male-dominated domain emerges when these articles are considered as a group.

Almost uniformly, articles outside the trade press painted a dismal picture of discrimination, harassment, low pay, long hours and other disadvantages. Yet, the same articles acknowledged that women sought these jobs for adventure and fame or a need to support themselves in a climate where few job paths were open to them or perhaps the mistaken belief that the husband of their dreams was lurking behind a newsroom typewriter.

Endnotes

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2 Edward Bok, "Is the Newspaper Office the Pace for a Girl?" *Ladies Home Journal* 18 (February 1901): 18.

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4 Genevieve Jackson Boughner, *Women in Journalism: A Guide to the Opportunities and a Manual of the Technique of Women's Work for Newspapers and Magazines* (New York: D. Appleton, 1926).

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6 As cited in Maurine Hoffman Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (Washington, D.C.: The American University Press), 10.

7 See Frances Willard, *Occupations for Women: A Book of Practical Suggestions for the Material Advancement, the Mental and Physical Development and the Moral and Spiritual Uplift of Women* (New York: Success Co., 1897), 283. Interestingly, Willard was assisted in the writing of this book by two newspaper women, Sally Joy White and Helen M. Winslow.

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9 Eleanor Hoyt, "The Newspaper Girl," *Current Literature* 34 (March 1903): 292.

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19 Agnes Hooper Gottlieb, "Malloy of the *American*: Baltimore's Pioneer Woman Journalist," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 91 (Spring 1996): 30.

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21 Tutwiler, "The Southern Woman in New York," 624.

22 *Ibid.*, 633.

23 Rose Young, "Your Daughter's Career: If She Wants to be a Newspaper Woman," *Good Housekeeping*, September 1915, 311.

24 Anne Eliot, "Experiences of a Woman Reporter," *Collier's* 43 (21 August 1909): 9.

25 Winslow, "Confessions of a Newspaper Woman," 208.

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28 Bok, "Is the Newspaper Office the Place for a Girl?" 18.

29 *Ibid.*

30 Cynthia May Westover Alden, "Women in Journalism," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 47 (December 1898): 208-212.

31 Hoyt, "The Newspaper Girl," 291.

32 Margaret E. Sangster, "Editorship as a profession for Women," *The Forum* 20 (December 1895): 447.

33 "A Noted Newspaper Correspondent," *Review of Reviews* 8 (October 1893): 479.

34 "Women as Journalists," *Review of Reviews* 8 (October 1893): 467.

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36 Margaret H. Welch, "Is Newspaper Work Healthful for Women?" *Journal of Social Science* 32 (1894): 110-116.

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40 Selene Armstrong, "A Story of Success," *Collier's* 47 (29 April 1911): 18.

41 "Young Women in Journalism," *Review of Reviews* 6 (November 1892): 451-2.

42 J.L.H., "A Woman's Experience," 73.

43 "Journalism as a Profession for Women," *Review of Reviews* 3 (May 1891): 390.

44 Young, "Your Daughter's Career," 312.

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47 Bylines as such did not become common until the turn of the century. Bylines first emerged during the Civil War when a Union general asked that they be placed on dispatches so that correspondents could be held accountable for their writing. It is, however, often relatively easy to pick out the writing of women journalists because they were given bylines or wrote regularly under a pseudonym that was associated with them. This was typical behavior by editors. Even Margaret Fuller, who wrote in the 1840s, had her copy marked with an asterisk. It seems that editors wanted to identify copy that had been written by women perhaps to woo other women readers, perhaps to put a "red flag" on the articles, thereby distancing themselves from the content.

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The Trials of Faith: Discussion of Religion and the Beecher Adultery Scandal, 1870–1880

by Alan Bjerga

The public trial over the alleged adultery of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was perhaps the most sensational event of the 1870s. Newspapers covered it extensively, and the coverage of a religious leader's fall from grace was unprecedented at the time. Given the influence of American newspapers in the 1870s, it is possible that newspaper coverage of the trial could have affected how Americans perceived religious leaders. This article studies how newspaper coverage might have affected discourse on religion, thus shaping the role religion played in nineteenth-century American culture.

The newspapers couldn't ignore the story. Henry Ward Beecher, the leading clergyman in the United States, was charged with adultery by Theodore Tilton, a one-time business partner of Beecher's and a leading member of his congregation. Beecher denied any improper relationship with Tilton's wife, Elizabeth, and the accusations temporarily subsided. But after an attempt to deal with the charges internally through a legally non-binding "trial" at his church failed, Beecher endured a six-month civil trial where his legendary eloquence and powers of recall faltered. Still, he was acquitted—not because he was innocent, many say, but because Henry Ward Beecher, "the most brilliant U.S. preacher," simply could not be guilty.[1]

Journalists of the 1870s were ardent in covering Beecher and the scandal that called his morality into question. The extensive coverage of a religious leader's fall from grace is not surprising, given the role religion played in America at the time. But that role was shifting, as was coverage of religious leaders themselves. This paper explores discourse about religion in

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the 1870s through coverage of the Beecher scandal in five selected newspapers. The argument here is that the Beecher trial represents a "pivotal moment" in popular discourse about religion, and the secular press of the 1870s may reflect this change. The newspapers studied devoted increasing attention to clergy and their role in society as the 1870s progressed. Some of that attention appears related to discussion that emerged during the trial. The Beecher scandal is only one, and perhaps among the least significant, factors contributing to changes in American religion during the 1870s. Studying discourse in press coverage about what was arguably the most-reported trial of the decade may, however, allow one to see whether the Beecher scandal seems related to any changes in how Americans subsequently discussed religion and religious leaders. It is assumed that, at the most basic level, the scandal may have affected the lens through which Americans viewed religion, and that one may find changes in discourse about religion in newspapers after the scandal.

Before discussing research questions and findings, some background about the historical period is needed.

The Gilded Age

A gilded age—marked by the pretension, not the substance, of a golden age—carries a false facade, with surface impressions masking a rotten core. The era is associated with corrupt politics, robber barons, and the hypocrisy of Victorian values. It was also a period when, as Gerald N. Grob and George Athan Bilias state, "Few individuals or institutions remained unaffected by the forces at work, and the nation as a whole was destined to experience fundamental changes which enabled it to emerge as a leading world power by the close of the nineteenth century."[2]

American society changed tremendously in the last third of the 1800s. The number of Americans living in urban areas increased from about one-quarter of the population in 1870 to nearly half in 1910.[3] The rise of an industrial economy accompanied urbanization. Many new urban laborers were immigrants who practiced different political and religious customs than those of their predecessors. The combination of urban economic prosperity and growing immigrant diversity gave rise to a conservative middle class of professionals and business managers who considered themselves the guardians of old values but were the products of a new environment.[4]

The nation's spiritual landscape changed along with its physical and economic environments. Following the Civil War, the character of, and challenges to, the mainstream Christian churches that had guided public religious discourse in the United States from the nation's inception changed dramatically. The mainstream denominations that represented the majority

of the American church-going population split along sectional lines over the issue of slavery before and during the war; however, the war's end and the abolition of slavery did not lead to reconciliation.[5] Martin Marty argues that the Reconstruction Era ended the chance for a single vision of America's spiritual destiny, and that, in many ways, Northeast mainstream churches, once looked to for national spiritual guidance, suffered the greatest decline in influence.[6]

The sectionalization of American Protestantism was only one of several theological ruptures after the Civil War. Christians who believed in public activism and religious expression became distinct from groups that saw faith as a private matter, and Christians who reconciled their beliefs with scientific advances broke from fundamentalists who refused to adjust doctrine to new scientific findings.[7] These differences were more than sectarian squabbles. D.H. Meyer notes that, while earlier disputes were ameliorated by a common allegiance to a "civil religion"—an official and general faith in an omnipresent, uncontroversial Supreme Being—perceptions of the divine and its role in society later become so diverse among American religious groups that civil religion lost prominence in American culture due to a lack of consensus regarding its proper role in public life.[8]

The breakdown drew different responses. Some individuals turned toward agnosticism and atheism, and others became fundamentalists and revivalists, following popular ministers such as Dwight L. Moody who preached the evils of the urbanized world and urged removal from it.[9] Still others became politically and socially active, fueling what became known as the Social Gospel movement through their belief that social activism was essential to realizing the "kingdom of God" on Earth.[10] And some, largely among the new middle class, attempted to reconcile change with stability.[11]

The Rev. Beecher

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was, perhaps, the embodiment of the middle-class response. His enduring legacy in American Protestantism results from his having both led and followed American religion as it adjusted to advances in science and to the challenges of urban life. During his ministry at Brooklyn's Plymouth Church from 1847 until his death in 1887, Beecher was the most prominent minister in the United States. Through his sermons, writings, and lecture tours, the Rev. Beecher reflected and shaped the evolution of Protestant theology in the Victorian era, becoming, in historian Clifford Clark's words, the "spokesman for a middle-class America." Beecher helped reconcile the cultural changes of the mid-1800s with the faith of his followers, symbolizing moral conviction and grass-roots democracy for Americans troubled by immigration and drastic social change.[12]

Beecher reinforced belief in moral laws and emphasized self-reliance, faith in education, and the importance of economic security and social control. His message was met with unparalleled celebrity and acclaim.[13]

Beecher's genius, it has been argued, was in sensing public needs and doing his best to serve them. He "wisely knew what was happening to the old religions and the old moral structure and . . . was doing his best to blow with the wind," writes Robert Shaplen.[14] To his affluent, professional audience, Beecher resonated perfectly. His stress on self-improvement and self-control, his suspicion of wealth gained from inheritance or manipulation, and his conviction that hard work would eliminate poverty fit the middle-class ethos of the Gilded Age.[15] At his career peak in the early 1870s he was a national religious spokesman and an unquestioned leader of Victorian moral and religious standards.

But in the 1870s his credibility was seriously challenged by the adultery scandal. In July 1870, Elizabeth Tilton told her husband that she had been having an improper relationship with Beecher. Theodore Tilton confronted him in December. Neither party wanted the alleged affair to become public, but on 28 October 1872, an account of the accusation and attempts to keep it quiet appeared in the magazine *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, published by feminist and spiritualist Victoria Woodhull. In response, Beecher publicly denied having an adulterous affair, and Theodore Tilton criticized Woodhull in New York and Brooklyn newspapers. By 1874, public questioning caused Beecher to appoint a church council to investigate the charges. The council, packed with Beecher's friends, exonerated him. Tilton then filed criminal charges against Beecher. The ensuing trial was the most sensational of the 1870s. From January to July 1875, the nation's top lawyers argued to a packed courtroom and the undivided attention of journalists. In the end, Beecher was acquitted by a jury vote of 9-3.[16]

Changing newspapers

The scandal and trial received tremendous coverage in the nation's newspapers, which by the 1870s had shifted from small-circulation, party-controlled organs to more politically independent, popular newspapers.[17] The number of daily newspapers increased from 574 to 971 during the 1870s, and the average size of those newspapers increased at the same time their price decreased.[18] Circulation appeals emphasized that news was for everyone, not just political partisans.[19] The growing popular press fed a post-Civil War demand for items of interest to general audiences.

Newspaper reporting had improved as a result of the Civil War, when correspondents developed the use of multiple sources, investigative techniques, and a greater emphasis on facts.[20] Gilded Age reporters were con-

sciously attempting to find factual, scientific explanations for events. Reporters were also trying more consciously to "balance" stories, giving impartial treatment to at least two sides of an issue.[21] The increased political independence of newspapers made scandal coverage in all media more likely, according to Jeffrey Rutenbeck, who argues that independent newspapers grew in part because of distrust of Gilded Age politics. Several scandals in the Reconstruction Era motivated "a political cleansing" and exposure of the hypocritical and corrupt; commercial demands on the press and increased political independence made aggressive pursuit of scandal more likely.[22]

Richard Wightman Fox argues that it was inevitable that the Beecher scandal would be played out in the press, contending that Beecher and Tilton were both masters of publicity in a commercializing society and thus naturally used publicity to attack one another.[23] Still, what newspaper readers read was novel to them; the scandal opened doors into the private lives of religious leaders in unprecedented ways. As Fox states:

> Already for a century at least many Americans had equated "democracy" with the "exposure" of hidden realities—the corruption of colonial or federal officials, the conspiracies of smug elites, even the peccadilloes of amorous holy men—but this army of reporters drumming up or inventing "discoveries" of private relations was something new. It must have been especially titillating, because frightening, for newspaper readers . . . to be handed a clerical hero whose alleged transgression was not just any old sexual escapade, but the undoing of a young couple he himself had blessed and bound together.[24]

The intersection of Victorian social and economic developments with class anxieties helped propel Beecher to the forefront of national consciousness. The development of journalism and its role in American culture helped put his alleged sins on the front page. Coverage of Beecher's trial, then, might affect how Americans perceived their religious leaders, and thus religion itself. Gene Wise, in *American Historical Explanations*, notes that research, in general, has tended to gloss over questions of how change occurs.[25] Rather than attempt to capture changes in ideas as they develop, historians rely on what Wise called "spirit of the age" or "climate of opinion" explanations for social change. Such explanations do a good job of setting contexts without adequately explaining how an idea changes in tandem with (or seemingly outside) an already-established context.[26] This approach thus does not explain anomalies in the "climate" or why schools of thought are replaced. Wise suggests a "grounded explanation" of social change —calling the point at which change occurs a "pivotal moment."

The pivotal moment model emphasizes the moment change takes place, attempting to capture a paradigm shift in action. Wise assumes that pivotal moments most often occur during crises—"those momentous situations when something unusual seems to be happening with an idea. . . . where 'experience' and 'explanation' go in separate ways."[27] Because individuals in such situations need a strategy to cope with an unfamiliar reality, new ideas flow from attempts to deal with crises.[28] This assumption, Wise asserts, provides historians with highly concentrated experiences to examine, and reduces information overload by providing parameters of study and acknowledging that not all events are of equal importance.[29]

The pivotal moment model seems applicable to the Beecher adultery scandal, which was characterized by contemporaries as a momentous event in which something unusual was happening. Plaintiff's attorney Samuel D. Morris told the jury that "Upon the result of your verdict, to a very large extent . . . will depend the integrity of the Christian religion."[30] Study of discourse in press content about the trial helps illuminate how the Beecher trial may signify what Wise calls a pivotal moment.

Method

To examine how discourse about religion may have changed after the Beecher scandal, the following research questions were used to collect data:

I. What themes dominated discourse about clergy before the scandal?

II. How were clergy discussed in 1875 in relation to and apart from the scandal?

1. How did newspaper writers treat Beecher's alleged moral failings?

2. Were these failings discussed as peculiar to Beecher or as indications of a wider crisis in America's religious values?

3. What themes dominated discourse about clergy apart from the scandal?

III. What themes dominated discourse about clergy after the scandal?

1. Did themes that were prominent in coverage of the Beecher case continue to be prominent?

2. Was the scandal mentioned five years later? If so, what occasioned mention?

Shifts in talk about religion of this era, signifying possible changes in thought, can be studied using discourse analysis, which draws upon research in anthropology, ethnography, and sociology to explore social change and the interplay between knowledge, social relations, and social identities.[31] Norman Fairclough notes that recent social theory has given discourse more importance as a force in shaping social life. He cites the work of Antonio

Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, and Jürgen Habermas, theorists who have contributed to understanding relationships between discursive and social structures.[32]

Gunther Kress defines discourse as the range of statements that can be made about a topic, statements that "define, describe, delimit, and circumscribe what is possible and impossible to say with respect to [a subject], and how it is to be talked about."[33] Discourse analysis is a study of the accepted "common sense" about given subjects in a society; shifts in discourse indicate shifts in the way people in that society think about subjects.[34] Teun van Dijk, in a discourse analysis of news reports, calls news a public discourse, spoken in a public language: "socially and cognitively, this means that a considerable amount of generally shared knowledge, beliefs, news, and values must be shared" for news content to be comprehensible.[35] Discourse analysis of news texts gives clues to readers' assumptions because news is dependent on these assumptions to be understood. Unlike content analysis, which quantitatively breaks news texts into units and codes statements within them, a discourse analysis focuses on language in the context in which the news text is created. By following news reports, and considering what van Dijk calls the "installment character" of news, we may gain clues to evolving attitudes among audiences whose world views are shaped by what they read in the press.[36]

Analytical tools

Analysis of discourse on religion found in the newspapers selected for this research was guided by several characteristics identified by Fairclough as giving clues to changing discourse: representation, presupposition, negation, metadiscourse, and irony.

Representation in texts deals with how a message is presented to an audience. This can involve sources relied upon, style of descriptions, how authors distance themselves from texts, and what contextual details are added. Fairclough cites the use of "scare quotes" as an example.

Presuppositions are assumptions underlying a text and conveyed through language, such as that which gives clues to the assumed prior knowledge of an audience. Fairclough cites the statement "the Soviet threat is a myth" as an example of writing that, although semantically contradictory, is comprehensive to an audience that is familiar with the Cold War. In the Beecher trial, the statement "Beecher is a traitor to the Protestant faith" would imply that audiences knew of a "Protestant faith" and that Beecher's actions made him a violator of it.

Negation occurs when something is framed as a negative statement about a subject, implying that the opposite is true or correct. This has the effect of framing discourse in an "other" relationship: that is, the text ac-

knowledges an opposite outside text. For example, if a writer were to state, "The people of the city will not stand for this assault on Smith's character," the writer is acknowledging other discourses that contend that perhaps they will.

Metadiscourse is a form of commentary that implies that a communicator somehow transcends the discourse, and therefore is omniscient and objective. Metadiscourse often takes the form of hedging; statements such as "sort of" or "scientifically speaking" distance narrators from their own words and imply their control over the discourse. The same can occur when a text clearly marks an item as having come from another text.[37]

Irony means saying one thing and meaning another while echoing an earlier statement. It gives clues to the assumed knowledge of an audience. Irony requires readers to have an understanding of what is being referred to.[38]

To analyze newspaper content, contextualization, presupposition, negation, metadiscourse, and irony were used to identify themes and values, and ultimately, discourse, in the newspapers. Cumulatively, larger meanings should become apparent as patterns recur.

Content

The news texts examined were selected from the New York *Times*, the New York *Sun*, the Chicago *Tribune*, the New Orleans *Picayune*, and the San Francisco *Chronicle*. Coverage in these five newspapers was studied from four periods—16–31 May 1870; 2–18 February 1875; 2–22 April 1875; and 16–31 May 1880. The dates were selected to allow for study of newspaper content about religion before and after the trial coverage. Five-year intervals seemed sufficient to allow for observing any change, and 1870 and 1880 were conveniently distanced from other major events in Beecher's life, which, it was assumed, would minimize skewed coverage of him.[39] The press during those periods gave no unusual attention to religion—not even a major Christian religious holiday occurred during the two periods studied.

The two periods in 1875 coincide with the trial testimony of Beecher and his accuser, Theodore Tilton, and were selected to allow for studying coverage when attention was most focused on the plaintiff and the defendant and reader interest was at its highest. The five newspapers were selected from different parts of the country to allow for ascertaining what newspapers in different regions reported about religion and the Beecher trial. The New York *Times* and New York *Sun* provided contrast among local dailies covering the trial—the *Times* as an early leader in the "objective" style, and the *Sun* as the highest-circulation daily of the time and the editorial vehicle of Charles A. Dana, perhaps the period's most prominent

editor.[40] The *Tribune* was the leading newspaper of Chicago, a city that, even in the aftermath of the 1871 fire, was expected by some to overtake New York as a national media center. It was also the paper that, in 1874, had published a large sample of Theodore Tilton's correspondence with his wife Elizabeth, itself a major scandal development. The *Chronicle* provided a West Coast perspective as well as a female correspondent, a rarity in 1875.[41] The *Picayune* contrasts with other papers in this sample as a product of the recently defeated South; and, issued from a predominantly Catholic city, it virtually ignored the scandal.

Each newspaper of the dates selected was examined for any discussion of religious issues, which included any article explicitly involving "Christian activity"—church events or the news of religious figures, including Beecher and the scandal—or referring to religious teachings. Articles then were examined for answers to the research questions. Much of the data found comes from explicit statements. For example, a Chicago *Tribune* article printed 18 April 1875, stated that, should Beecher be guilty, "he has broken almost every commandment in the Decalogue but one, and hid the blackest of hearts and the falsest of characters under the white robes of religion, and performed in the pulpit and conference merely as an actor on the stage."[42] From this it is reasonably clear what values Beecher was perceived as breaking, but other statements show more subtle language choice, and the cues outlined earlier helped identify discourse or discourse components. As example is the report that "Mr. Beecher joined in the singing lustily," from an article that included the words to the hymn he was singing: "Then count they present trials small/For heaven will make amends for all."[43] Here, the choice of the adverb *lustily* is significant, but not explicit; in cases such as these, the language cues were invaluable, as the use of "lustily" in this context reasonably can be interpreted as the ironic statement of a writer who knows the connection between Beecher and lust.

All non-advertisement copy was treated alike. The boundaries of news, editorial, and letter texts were not as clearly defined for 1870s newspaper audiences as they are today, nor was story placement or source as a reprint from another newspaper particularly important in answering the research questions. Appearance in the newspaper was the sole criterion for inclusion.[44]

For the selected dates of the trial, articles were divided into two groups: Those articles that directly or indirectly referred to the trial were compared to those that did not for evidence of divergent discourses. Such analysis, in tandem with findings from 1870 and 1880, could potentially show whether discourse about the Beecher scandal spread to discourse about other religious subjects.

For the period after the trial, information was sought about the possible relation of the Beecher scandal to American Protestantism by search-

ing for explicit references and allusions to discourses found in the trial coverage. Whether the scandal actually had an effect is, of course, speculative, but any discourse linked to the trial could at least point to where an idea shift might have occurred.[45] While the Beecher scandal is only one factor that may have contributed to changes in American religion during the 1870s, it is assumed here that if newspaper coverage of religion in general reflects changed discourse after the Beecher scandal and those changes appear related to the earlier coverage, the scandal may have, in some degree, effected those changes.

Findings, 1870

The main theme in religious discussion found in the 1870 newspapers studied regarded concerns about a perceived stagnancy among mainstream Protestant denominations in the Civil War's aftermath, a stagnancy contrasted with the growing strength of immigrant churches. Discussion centered on the denominational, not the individual, level. Writers called for interdenominational cooperation to strengthen Protestant churches. For example, one *Chronicle* writer saw renewed cooperation between Northern and Southern Methodists as natural: "The day may come when proper Christian sentiments and fraternal relations between the two great branches of Northern and Southern Methodists may be permanently established."[46] Cooperation as "proper" is a representation found in other articles. According to one *Tribune* item, there was "no reason" why Northern and Southern Presbyterians shouldn't reunite—a negation that makes reunion legitimate and desired.[47] Clergy were treated as background figures in discussion of denominational unity and the rising Catholic Church. "Celebrity" ministers like Dwight Moody or Beecher occasioned mention, but, for the most part, clergy were anonymous lieutenants in the Lord's army. This could be attributed, in part, to the greater controversy surrounding their denominations and the lack of controversy surrounding ministers. As one *Chronicle* writer reported, "Christian clergy have been in all ages and all lands the patrons of liberty, knowledge and human development; that a belief in and worship of divinity has an exalting and restraining influence on human conduct."[48]

While mainstream churches were shown as suffering from sectarian squabbles and inadequate mission efforts that hampered their effectiveness, immigrant churches were reported as winning what was represented as a race for new members. One religious group that, according to the articles examined, did not suffer from sectarian squabbles and did not neglect the needs of immigrants was the Roman Catholic Church. The articles studied showed two competing themes regarding Roman Catholicism. One represented the Catholic Church positively when it appeared to serve as an agent

for immigrant assimilation into American life; the other showed the church negatively in its "Roman" incarnation.

The Rome-based Catholic leader, the Pope, was invariably portrayed negatively. In one article, a *Tribune* writer used the word "anathema" as a motif in describing a papal pronouncement that all matter was created out of nothing:

> Anathema is defined to be a "ban or curse pronounced with religious solemnity by ecclesiastical authority, and accompanied by excommunication". . . . A good Catholic desires to avoid the "anathema" of Rome, and prefers not to be excommunicated, and is willing to swallow any dogma that he may be ordered to take—but there are limits to human credulity beyond which men cannot go, and one of them is the command of the Roman Council . . .

The *Tribune* writer portrayed a struggle between the "intelligent" American Catholic and the dictates of Rome. The relationship set up by the writer shows a "good" Catholic in the context of constant struggle with Roman leadership—an impossibility under church teaching, but a characterization more fitting for an "American" Catholic church. The writer solidified the distinction by metaphorically identifying church leaders with foreignness. After a first reference to "The Pope and his Bishops," the papacy and its hierarchy are referred to as "Rome and her Bishops"—a construction that equates a person, the Pope, with Rome, a foreign city.[49]

At the same time, writers praised Roman Catholic Church work with the American poor and immigrants. Language that expresses this contained a metaphor of the Catholic church in America as a model democracy. As one *Sun* reporter wrote:

> This difference of practical results [between Catholics and Protestants in attracting attendance] has led some liberal-minded Protestants to inquire to what difference in the Catholic method of management it is owing; and their conclusion, so far, has been that it is the democratic element—the absence of all distinction between the rich and the poor, and the consequent freedom which the masses feel in availing themselves of the privileges of worship—which swells the throng of Catholic worshipers.[50]

Findings, 1875

Church leaders were subject to more scrutiny in the 1875 newspapers than in the 1870 newspapers studied. Contributors to newspapers, which were saturated with Beecher trial coverage, questioned whether clergy truly

were the patrons of liberty, knowledge, and human development. Some writers considered the unprecedented nature of, and attention to, the Beecher scandal as causing changes in how Americans viewed religious leaders, from celebrities to the local minister. "The masses have fallen away from the superstitious allegiance," stated a *Tribune* writer:

> In places where it was sacrilege to discuss the possibilities of the trial, hot and even debate now flows uninterruptedly. The prestige of Plymouth, if not of Beecher, has vanished like a morning mist. . . . As the trial proceeds, more and more clearly, to our great disappointment, do we discover that the plainest and commonest of us all might have done everything that these eminent men and women have done.[51]

The Beecher trial, by its nature, created an opportunity to discuss the role of ministers in culture. This theme was not evident in 1870 coverage, but it was prominent in 1875 discussion of Beecher. Articles couched Beecher's behavior in the context of what ministers should or should not be, indicating the values expected of clergy by reporters and solidifying Beecher's significance as a religious and popular figure.

Articles about Beecher reflected a belief that ministers were obligated to higher standards of honesty and integrity than were members of the general public. One *Sun* reporter wrote:

> The public, in the presence of denials so explicit, given by a Christian minister of long standing and distinguished reputation, under the divine and human penalties against false swearing, may well pause in bewilderment. Mr. Beecher's crime, if he is guilty, is so enormous that the mass of men will shudder at its contemplation . . . in the possibility of a preacher of the Word of God descending to such a depth of infamy.[52]

Some reporters questioned whether, until Beecher's fate was officially determined, he should continue serving as a minister at all. In an article titled "Ought Mr. Beecher to Stop Preaching," a writer asks and comments that discussion on this issue is heated:

> We observe in some of the country papers a good deal of discussion on the question of whether Mr. Beecher ought to preach to Plymouth Church during his trial. Most of these journals think that it is very wrong in him to continue to appear in the pulpit and address his congregation upon religious subjects until after the jury have brought in a verdict in his favor. How can a clergyman who is accused of such extremely irreligious behavior—so they argue—teach religion to the

people of Plymouth, while it still remains in doubt, at least in a legal sense, whether he is guilty or innocent?[53]

Part of the tragedy of the Beecher scandal, many writers argued, was that the adultery charge exposed public expectations that ministers be moral paragons in their public and private lives. This, the writers contended, led to unrealistic expectations about ministerial behavior. In an article headlined "Mr. Beecher's Infallibility," a writer applauded Plymouth Church support for its minister, calling it a portent of "that day when great men must be good men . . . when gifts will be the measure of graces."[54] The writer concluded by expressing hope that the Beecher scandal, by showing ministers as human, would keep them "from the dangers of their man-made authority, their humanly-invented trust."[55]

In general, scandal coverage discussed Beecher's ministerial role as one that carried a high status that would be doomed should he be found guilty, a situation that could potentially shake overall public trust in clergy. However, coverage also indicated that perhaps standards for clergy were too high, and the scandal offered an opportunity to discuss these standards.

Writers used several aspects of the scandal to suggest it involved people very different from most Americans. These aspects included the politeness of the Beechers and Tiltons toward one another, the insistence by both the plaintiff and the defendant that Elizabeth Tilton was a woman of pure heart even while considered a liar by the defendant and an adulteress by the plaintiff, Beecher's refusal to swear on the Bible, and the steadfast support of Beecher received from members of Plymouth Church in the face of evidence against him.[56]

Beecher's teachings were portrayed as outside mainstream religious thought, and his ideas as ones to be approached with caution. This portrayal does not imply that the Beecher scandal signaled a wider crisis in America's religious values. Typical of this portrayal was a *Picayune* article that stated:

> It is supposed that if the whole truth shall ever come out, it will appear in Brooklyn that at a certain period the loose, easy-going, good-natured theology and teaching of Mr. Beecher had so far relaxed in many minds, especially among otherwise refined and Christian women, the authority of God's written law, that less restraint was put upon the social intercourse of the sexes than has been regarded safe and decorous among all English-speaking and English-bred communities.[57]

According to two *Times* articles, "Men of all conditions and stations in life, and women of more or less public celebrity and refinement" gathered to follow the trial.[58] Beecher's popularity was a central attraction, accord-

ing to many articles, and it was his alleged hypocrisy that most shocked the audience. According to a *Sun* editorialist, "We would like to believe that the most popular preacher in America is a man of pure life and good morals. It is not pleasant to imagine that such a man could possibly be guilty of the crimes of adultery and perjury."[59]

Coverage indicates fears that the scandal could increase skepticism toward religious figures. Although discourse isolated Beecher and his Brooklyn congregation from mainstream America, it also indicated his violations of public trust were not necessarily confined to him. The scandal took place on a grand national stage, and out-of-touch ministers and congregations-led-astray were possible anywhere. Because of this, wrote a *Tribune* reporter, "the whole Christian and civilized world will listen with absorbed attention to every word of the evidence as it falls from [Beecher's] lips."[60] The *Tribune* writer characterized the case as important not only to Americans, but to culture in America and the world:

> There has never been in the history of courts and trials a case in which the sympathies, the feelings, and the intellectual judgment of so many people were so deeply involved as in this case of Mr. Beecher; and when this man of genius, this incomparable preacher, accused of such crimes, takes the stand to clear himself from the accusation, the whole country and all enlightened countries will in a sense be suspended upon his utterance.[61]

Almost no discussion was found outside coverage of the scandal regarding the proper role of ministers. Reporters seemed to have an implicit sense of appropriate standards of behavior for ministers as they reported the scandal, but they also seemed to feel the clergy should not be held to unrealistic standards of morality. Some articles involving ministerial conduct specifically related it to the scandal, shedding light on what was expected of ministers and the possible impact of the Beecher case on public thought. A *Sun* reporter, in a story headlined "An Innocent Clergyman/Trying To Make A Scandal From A Very Pretty Romance," described a "secret marriage" of a presiding minister's best friend to a woman for whom the minister had a known attraction. The connection to the Beecher case is clear. The writer told how the minister's congregation overreacted to what turned out to be merely "a tale of romance" and how the Beecher scandal had made people more sensitive to ministerial improprieties.[62] A *Chronicle* headline referred to "A Pulpit Star of the First Magnitude" who was expected to draw large crowds to San Francisco despite a suspect moral character. "Inasmuch as Mr. K has been accused of weaknesses akin to those charged against Beecher there can be little doubt that he will draw powerfully," the reporter wrote, presupposing that scandal invariably translated into public curiosity about

it.[63] Another article reported a minister being dismissed because his "preaching was not of sufficient excellence for the requirements of the church" and added that this was "the only charge" against the minister — seeming to ward off presuppositions readers might have brought to the news item from other texts.[64]

Findings, 1880

Skepticism about religion in general permeated coverage of religion in 1880. Discussion of whether religious ideas were valid, which challenged assumptions of Christianity's unquestioned correctness, was almost nonexistent in the earlier newspapers studied; however, skepticism of religious belief appeared in several 1880 articles. Most often, skepticism and atheism were covered, as a *Chronicle* writer put it, as part of the "current of the times."[65] In an article headlined "Modern Thinkers," a writer pointed out that:

> Of . . . Swedenborg, Adam Smith, Thomas Paine, Jeremy Bentham, Charles Fourier, August Comte, Herbert Spencer, and Ernst Haeckel, none were Christians in that sense of the word which defines a Christian theologically . . . . they not only doubted that Christianity could save men, but with one exception all denied that man had any need to be saved.[66]

The contextualizing of skepticism as something that existed among "great men" reinforced and validated that skepticism. Meanwhile, the leaders of Christianity—great and not so great—were scrutinized to an extent not found in 1875 and 1870. The importance of ministers as leaders and role models of Christianity, a prominent theme in coverage of Beecher in 1875, appeared in 1880 discourse about clergy in general. Ministers received more attention as public leaders in the 1880 newspapers than in 1870 and 1875. They were shown as using their leadership to embrace new ideas and solidify traditional strength. One minister, Myron Adams of Rochester, N.Y., caused "AN ECCLESIASTICAL SENSATION" by denying in a sermon the existence of hell: "Mr. Adams thinks the Church is declining . . . Skepticism is crushing the Church."[67] (The second part of that statement, "Skepticism is crushing the Church," is not clearly attributed; it is difficult to know if Adams or the writer, or both, shared that view.) Another minister, the Rev. Cornelius Roosevelt Duffie, who addressed the changing challenges of ministers in a speech to college students, was reported as saying that "there were others whose place it was to lead them on to intellectual attainment, but his duty should be to stimulate their spiritual natures and to encourage their moral growth."[68] Ministers were portrayed in 1880 cov-

erage as being on the front lines of changing theology more often than was found in 1870 and 1875 coverage.

In the 1880 newspapers, clergy were identified as leaders in the struggle to hold faith together against the attacks of non-Christian thought. In one article, the clergy were urged to "Make Common Cause" against skepticism. The author outlined the challenges faced by ministers of the day:

> This is a time when the clergy are losing their hold on many men who were brought up to reverence their authority and respect their opinions. If these men go to church they listen to the sermons critically, in a spirit of rebellion against the doctrines they hear preached and the theological theories whose truth the pulpit announces. They are not in a teachable temper of mind, and the prevalence of this disposition toward the preaching of the Gospel cannot fail to have a disheartening effect on the pulpit.[69]

Two allusions to the Beecher scandal were found in the 1880 newspapers studied. One, in a *Sun* article that does not specifically mention Beecher or the scandal, seems to presume audience knowledge of them:

> Many and various are the trails of the Brooklyn preachers. Last week one of them was sued by his landlord for back rent, divers drinks of rock and rye, a box of cigars, an alarm clock, and a 14-13-15 puzzle. The scandal of a public trial has been averted, however, by a settlement out of court, and unless some ecclesiastical tribunal takes the matter up, the brethren and sisters will never know whether the reverend man took the rock and rye as a medicine or a beverage.[70]

References to the trails of "Brooklyn preachers" seem to tie together the "scandal of a public trial" and an "ecclesiastical tribunal," and presume audience knowledge of the scandal. This passage pokes fun at the minister and the scandal.

A direct reference to the scandal began with the headline, "Has Beecher Repented?" A letter writer asked, "Is there not evidence that [Beecher] has repented of his sin . . . see how steadily and unflinchingly he stands forth week by week in his pulpit . . . preaching the doctrine of purity and guiltlessness." A *Sun* writer replied, "How can Beecher have repented when he still declares that he has done nothing to repent of? . . . With Beecher preaching every Sunday and remaining as the religious guide for so many people, it is hard to see."[71]

General condemnation of hypocrisy and the failure of moral leadership by clergy were found in newspapers published five years after the scandal. This discourse, however, rarely referred directly to the scandal. Still,

although explicit mention of the Beecher scandal was rare in 1880 coverage studied, discussion of the clergy, as was found in scandal coverage, continued. Ministers were treated as the vanguard of faith's defense against contemporary encroachment, and they were seen as prominent, though not always as able leaders. Their personal uprightness was treated as an appropriate subject of discussion.

Conclusion

What then can be concluded regarding newspaper coverage of the scandal as a provider of insight about religious meaning in 1870s America? Coverage of the Beecher scandal in 1875 seems to have expanded discourse about clergy and its role in public life. Expanded discourse is evident in 1880 coverage; significantly, it is almost non-existent in the 1870 coverage, and it was found in the 1875 newspapers almost exclusively in relation to the Beecher scandal.

While ministers were mentioned regularly in the newspapers studied, most discussions of them, especially in the 1870 coverage, showed them only in the context of the event covered; inquiries into their theologies were rare, and no discussion of their private lives was found. One minister mentioned in all three periods was the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, who was portrayed as a national leader in religious thought. The scandal involving him was the occasion for discussion of the status and role of ministers as public figures, a discussion that continued in 1880, after the scandal had subsided.

Given the press coverage of the Beecher scandal and changed discourse by 1880, along with the image of Beecher that haunted him for the rest of his life, it seems reasonable to conclude some connection between the scandal and later discussion of the clergy in newspapers. The issues that the Beecher scandal brought to public attention provided an opportunity to discuss religious figures and values, and discourse had changed. Although other, and probably more significant factors were at work, the Beecher scandal appears to have been a pivotal moment in discourse about religion, especially in the range of religious issues covered in the press.

Endnotes

1 *Harper's Weekly*, 11 Aug. 1866, qtd. in Clifford Clark, *Henry Ward Beecher: Spokesman for a Middle-Class America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 197.

2 Gerald N. Grob and George Athan Bilias, eds., *Interpretations of American History, vol. II* (New York: The Free Press, 1982), 16.

3 Robert Higgs, *The Transformation of the American Economy, 1865-1914* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971), 59.

4 Maury Klein and Harvey A. Kantor, *Prisoners of Progress: American Industrial Cities 1850-1920* (New York: Macmillan, 1976), 271.

5 José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 137.

6 Martin Marty, *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America* (New York: Dial Press, 1970), 137.

7 Leonard I. Sweet, ed., "Communication and Change in American Religious History: A Historiographical Probe" in *Communication and Change in American Religious History* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1993), 70-71.

8 D.H. Meyer, "American Intellectuals and the Victorian Crisis of Faith," in *Victorian America*, ed. Geoffrey Blodgett, et. al. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 66-67.

9 Meyer, "American Intellectuals," 63-64; Klein and Kantor, *Prisoners of Progress*, 273-274. Casanova, *Public Religions*, 140.

10 Charles Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism: 1865-1915* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 14-24.

11 Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers*, 1815-1860 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 16-17.

12 Clark, *Henry Ward Beecher*, 275-277.

13 Marty, *Religious Empire*, 148. Clark, *Henry Ward Beecher*, 3-4.

14 Robert Shaplen, *Free Love and Heavenly Sinners* (New York: Knopf, 1954), 94.

15 Clark, *Henry Ward Beecher*, 130-131. William Macloughlin, *The Meaning of Henry Ward Beecher: An Essay on the Shifting Values of Mid-Victorian America, 1840-1870* (New York: Knopf, 1970), 97-102.

16 Information taken primarily from Altina L. Waller, *Reverend Beecher and Mrs. Tilton: Sex and Class in Victorian America* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), 7-12; Paul A. Carter, *The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), 118-132; Shaplen; and Richard Wightman Fox, *Trials of Intimacy: Love and Loss in the Beecher-Tilton Scandal* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999).

17 Jeffrey Rutenbeck, "Newspaper Trends in the 1870s: Proliferation, Popularization, and Political Independence," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 72 (1995): 361-375. 362.

18 Ibid.

19 Thomas C. Leonard, *News For All: America's Coming-of-Age With the Press* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 153-154.

20 Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 114.

21 David T.Z. Mindich, *Just the Facts: How Objectivity Came to Define American Journalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 112.

22 Rutenbeck, "Newspaper Trends," 370. Mindich, *Just the Facts*, 63.

23 Richard Wightman Fox, "Intimacy on Trial: Cultural Meanings of the Beecher-Tilton Affair," in *The Power of Culture*, Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 103-134. 121.

24 Fox, "Trials of Intimacy," 37-38.

25 Gene Wise, *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 141.

26 Ibid., 113-115.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., 145-146.

29 Ibid., 141.

30 Carter, *Spiritual Crisis*, 118.

31 Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1992), 8-9. Teun van Dijk, *News as Discourse* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1988), 23.

32 Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 5-6. Fairclough explains that within Marxist theory, ideology is shown to be reproduced through language, with discourse as the preeminent linguistic material form of ideology. Foucault explores discourse as a means of reproducing power structures (see also Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 51-54), as Jürgen Habermas details how language can bring about social change through "communicative" uses that produce understanding and "strategic" uses that inspire people to action. Each of these ideas implies the possibility of changed discourse contributing to changed societies.

33 Gunther Kress, "Ideological Structures in Discourse, " in Teun van Dijk, ed., *Handbook of Discourse Analysis, vol. 4* (London: Academic Press), 27-42. 28.

34 Ibid., 84-85.

35 Teun van Dijk, *News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1988), 74-75.

36 Ibid., 62-63.

37 Fairclough uses academic writing, in which footnotes are often used to establish the writer's authority while at the same time distancing the writer from personal responsibility for the text, as an example. Fairclough, *Discourses and Social Change*, 122.

38 Fairclough, *Discourses and Social Change*, 118-123. Teun van Dijk, "Media Contents: The Interdisciplinary Study of News as Discourse," in *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*, Klaus Bruhn Jensen and Nicholas W. Jankowski, eds. (New York: Routledge, 1979), 108.

39 In 1867 Beecher published his only novel, *Norwood*, and in 1872 news of the scandal was first reported. In 1878, Elizabeth Tilton made her final admission of committing adultery with Beecher, and in 1884 the Rev. Beecher surprised the Republican Party by supporting Grover Cleveland in that year's presidential election. 1870 and 1880, however, were not prominent years in Beecher's public life.

40 Selecting newspapers for a study is always difficult; in this case, limiting New York newspapers was especially difficult. Other papers considered included James Gordon Bennett's New York *Herald*, the New York *Graphic*, and the New York *Tribune*. Bennett was considered "the father of modern religion reporting"; Graphic coverage featured journalism legend Julian Ralph, and the Tribune's reporter doubled as the Beecher trial's official court stenographer. However, for the purpose of a representative sample of discourse on religion, the *Sun* and *Times* seemed most appropriate as examples of newspapers that offered differing approaches to journalism.

41 Fox, "Trials of Intimacy," 92.

42 The *Tribune*, 18 April 1875.

43 The *Times*, 22 April 1875.

44 It is important to remember that although an article might have appeared in another source first, it was still selected for publication by an editor of the paper in which it appeared. Also, in the case of the Beecher trial, every newspaper studied except the *Picayune* had a correspondent at the trial, and any reprint selected was selected by choice, not necessity.

45 Wise, *American Historical Explanations*, 116.

46 The *Chronicle*, 17 May 1870.

47 The *Tribune*, 27 May 1870. The journalist writing the article, apparently, was less concerned with the rivalries and differences that had grown up among Presbyterians than were the church members themselves — Northern and Southern Presbyterians stayed separate until well into the next century.

48 The *Chronicle*, 23 May 1870.

49 The *Tribune*, 16 May 1870.
50 The *Sun*, 21 May 1870.

51 The *Tribune*, 14 February 1875.

52 The *Sun*, 7 April 1875.

53 The *Sun*, 2 February 1875.

54 The *Tribune*, 6 February 1875.

55 Ibid.

56 The *Times*, 15 February 1875; the *Times*, 8 April 1875; and the *Tribune*, 6 February 1875, are but a few examples of this. The *Tribune*, 17 February 1875, includes an article that parodies the trial. Set in 1900, the article supposed that the trial has dragged on for 25 years, that Theodore Tilton, Henry Bowen and Frank Moulton each have their own churches, and that Beecher remains fuzzy on the details of the alleged adultery. In the article, however, the participants still shower one another with flowers, and Brooklyn still breathlessly awaits the verdict.

57 The *Picayune*, 16 April 1875. Note the continued representation of the scandal as a Brooklyn affair.

58 The *Times*, 15 February and 8 April 1875.

59 The *Sun*, 20 February 1875.

60 The *Tribune*, 10 February 1875.

61 Ibid.

62 The *Sun*, 22 April 1875.

63 The *Chronicle*, 19 February 1875.

64 The *Sun*, 8 February 1875.

65 The *Chronicle*, 22 May 1880.

66 The *Tribune*, 22 May 1880.

67 The *Tribune*, 19 May 1880.

68 The *Sun*, 21 May 1880.

69 The *Sun*, 30 May 1880.

70 The *Sun*, 18 May 1880.

71 The *Sun*, 30 May 1880.

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Guardians of the Future

by Wm. David Sloan

Traditionally, AJHA presidential addresses have dealt with important topics in historiography. I think, for example, of my two predecessors—Jean Palmegiano and Jim Startt—and their stimulating talks on the nature of historical study.

I would like to depart from that tradition and talk in practical terms about the AJHA. Although I want to reflect on our past, I've titled my talk "Guardians of the Future." The AJHA, during its brief life, has been a powerful force in improving the practice of history, but our most important concern is this: What will we do in the years ahead?

Our association is dear to the hearts of most of us, and I would like to take the next several minutes to reflect on three points:

1. Where the AJHA has been;
2. Where it is today; and
3. Where it—and each of us as individual historians—should be going.

During the past twenty years, the quality of historical study of mass communication has improved dramatically, and its prestige has risen significantly. What has been the primary reason for these improvements? It is not immodest for us to answer: the AJHA.

Yet, there remains much to do. If history is to assume its rightful place at the forefront of mass communication in the academy, each of us must accept our individual responsibilities to help it get there.

Let's first consider where the AJHA has been.

To recognize what it has done, we must remember where the study of history was before the AJHA existed.

The historical study of mass communication has a long and admirable record. Americans have been writing about the history of the media for almost two centuries. When Isaiah Thomas published *The History of Print-*

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ing in 1810, he initiated the most enduring form of study that mass communication has had. Since then, sociologists, psychologists, theorists, and other researchers have devised new disciplines to examine the media, but history has remained.

Yet with the ascendancy of behavioral and social science theory that came out of World War II, by the 1970s historical study in our field was nearly impoverished. "Real" researchers in our colleges of communication either ignored the efforts of our historians or looked down their noses at them. Unfortunately, we must confess, partly to blame was the sloppiness of the "research" that many people who claimed to be "historians" were conducting. Personally, I can recall doing my graduate work in that milieu—and it was not a time that lent encouragement to those of us who wanted to be historians.

It was during that bleak time that the AJHA was born.

In reflecting on the birth of the AJHA, let me share with you some personal recollections.

A few months after I completed by doctoral degree, my good friend Gary Whitby and I presented a co-authored paper at the 1981 AEJMC national convention at Michigan State University. Because Gary had a phobia of flying, he persuaded me that we should make the long drive from Arkansas.

We began the return trip on a Sunday. Along the way, we talked about a variety of topics. But we both were excited about history, and as the trip stretched on, we began to talk seriously about it. Among other things, we shared a concern that mass communication history did not exhibit the vitality that it needed.

Then, shortly after midnight, as we drove south on State Highway 37 in southwest Missouri and neared the Arkansas border, I suggested to Gary, "You know what is needed? An organization of journalism historians." (For those of you who are interested in such details: the time was 1:00 a.m., Monday, 10 August 1981.)

Gary agreed, and we talked about the idea for a little while—but then we dropped it at that: just talk.

And it might have remained just an idea had I not had the good fortune of meeting Don Avery a couple of months later. He also had recently completed his Ph.D., and we happened to have research papers from our dissertations scheduled for the same session at a symposium in Fort Worth, Texas. Coincidentally, both of us had done our dissertations on the party press of the early 1800s. So we immediately sensed that we had something in common.

At a reception that evening, Don and I struck up a conversation, and I mentioned to him the idea—a fanciful one at that point—of starting an organization of media historians. Well, he thought it was a great idea; but,

as Gary and I had done, we simply talked but made no decision to do anything.

However, upon my return to my campus, the University of Arkansas, I reflected on Don's reaction to the idea—and his enthusiasm made me decide that it was an idea that should be pursued.

So I telephoned Gary to tell him that I thought we should do something. He agreed, and I set out publicizing the idea to historians around the country.

Immediately, positive responses started arriving in my mailbox. Not unusual were letters like the one from Don Bond at West Virginia. He wrote: "A loud 'bravo' for the idea of an association for journalism historians. It is about time. I commend you who have taken the plunge. Count me in." The idea that history needed its own organization clearly had struck a chord.

Among other things involved in planning, Gary and I had decided that a self-respecting organization needed two things: a journal and a national convention.

Some of you may recall that the early 1980s were not the best economic times for universities. Many were reducing their spending and cutting back some of their programs. So, starting a scholarly journal did not seem to be a goal with much promise. Gary, though, said he would undertake it. And sure enough, at the same time that some of the biggest communication schools in the nation were tightening their belts, his little school—the University of Central Arkansas—agreed to sponsor a new journal: *American Journalism.*

As to a convention, we originally thought about having the initial one at one of our Arkansas schools, but then we decided that it would be better to hold it at a "*big* city"—at least one that had an airport. So I contacted Darwin Payne in Dallas, Texas, and he agreed to host it on his campus, at Southern Methodist University.

The next person brought in was Don Avery. He readily agreed to publicize and coordinate a research paper competition.

While reminiscing about the origins of the AJHA, I'm reminded of two of the misconceptions about its founding:

One of them was that the AJHA was founded as a "rump" organization of the AEJMC. The founding of the AJHA, I would like to clarify, had nothing to do with the AEJMC—except that we thought that more could be done to encourage vitality and variety in history than the larger AEJMC was doing.

Another misconception was that it was started as a "regional" organization. The editor of *Clio* at the time, a professor in a Midwest prairie state, pooh-poohed the organization as being limited to the South. Gary Whitby wrote him a letter, cordial but including this line: "Not all of us are fortunate enough to live in Omaha, Nebraska."

For those of you who were not involved at the beginning, I cannot resist sharing with you a handful of memories of the first meeting in October 1982.

There was J. Snorgrass of Florida A&M, who was to become the AJHA's second president. Darwin Payne had scheduled a reception for our small group at a Dallas tavern the evening before the convention. As I walked in, J. came up to me and introduced himself. Even though we had never met, our common interest in history provided an immediate bond. J. became one of my very best friends, and his death several years ago was a great loss—not only to me but to the entire AJHA. If you had the good fortune to have known him, you were one of the people whose lives he enriched. Today, we give our research award for a paper on a minority topic in his memory.

Then there was Sidney Kobre. He was already retired from teaching in 1982; but, at the age of 75, he still showed an intense interest in scholarship, and especially history. For years afterward, he attended every convention, accompanied by his loyal wife. Every year you could find them sitting in the front row at paper sessions, and he was always the first to raise his hand when the time came for audience questions. He was elected to the AJHA's first Board of Directors, and he continued a faithful member of the association until failing health in his final years prevented him from traveling. In 1985 the AJHA named him recipient of its first award for lifetime contributions to the study of media history. Subsequently, the award was renamed in his honor; and today we commemorate his contributions to the AJHA and to media history with our highest honor: the Sidney Kobre Award.

There are many others I could mention from that first year, but I must say that Maurine Beasley sticks in my mind. Maurine showed up at the convention sheepishly, almost secretively. She was afraid of attending the convention, she confided to us, because her dean might see the AJHA as a challenge to the AEJMC. She had, it seemed, sneaked away from her campus and hoped that no one would realize she was gone. As it turned out, Maurine's attendance did not destroy her career. Indeed, not only was she later elected to the top office of the AJHA—but she also was elected to the AEJMC's presidency.

That first year, thirty people attended the convention, which we thought was a promising start. In an election conducted by mail after the convention, Don Avery was chosen president, I was elected secretary, and the first Board of Directors was selected.

As president, Don was required to host the second convention. At the time, we thought that the president would not have much to do. So the office carried with it the obligation of putting on the convention. The 1983 convention was held in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and sixty people attended. The next year's convention went to Tallahassee, Florida, where J. Snorgrass served as AJHA president. The attendance was up to ninety. The fourth

convention was in Las Vegas, with Barbara Cloud serving as the AJHA's third president and somehow keeping conventioneers listening to research papers rather than losing at slot machines. Attendance reached about 110. We thought that such attendance for an infant organization provided strong evidence that the AJHA had laid a solid foundation.

Those were times when we all appreciated the camaraderie and friendships that we found in the AJHA, and today it is gratifying to know that our organization still retains the vitality of its youth.

Those are some brief recollections of where the AJHA has come from. Let me take a few minutes to talk about where the AJHA is today and the impact that it has had and still is having.

One thing we can say without the slightest hesitation is that the quality and reputation of mass communication history today are much higher than they were twenty years ago. Let me mention just a few general items:

- History is the only area of mass communication study that has its own independent organization.
- Over the last two decades, the quality of research has been raised, and the stature of history has been elevated. Today, the vitality and visibility of the field are at the highest point they have ever been.
- One of the indications of that improvement is the productive publishing in the field. Historical scholarship in mass communication, going all the way back to Isaiah Thomas, has always been a fertile area of research. But today, in the number and quality of books as well as journal articles and research papers that are produced, history does not take a backseat to any area of mass communication.

Is there anyone who can say that the AJHA has not played a key role in bringing such improvements?

Finally, though, we must admit that—even though the field of mass communication history has improved in vitality, quality, and stature—there yet remains much to be done. The AJHA can and will play an important role—but each of us is equally responsible as individuals for assuring that the field continues to improve.

What can the AJHA do?

To begin, we should recognize the great amount of work that is ongoing.

Fortunately, for everyone who is or who wants to be a historian, the AJHA has been making a mark. Through its conventions, its committees, and its other activities, it has been encouraging all of us to recognize history's vast importance and has helped raise standards and expectations.

Let me mention one particular initiative that we have undertaken. It has the potential of bringing about a small revolution in mass communication programs nationwide. It is the Task Force on History in the Curriculum.

Let me give you some figures. Despite the strides that the AJHA has made and the intense personal efforts that many of you as individuals have contributed to raising the quality and reputation of history, 60 percent of college programs in journalism and mass communication do *not* offer a history course. If college students are not taught the history of our field, what can we possibly expect but a profession ignorant of its heritage? I don't need to explain to you attending this convention the many reasons that history is invaluable, that without history one has an incomplete education. Yet today students in only two out of five programs have a history course available.

What can we do?

The AJHA Task Force on "History in the Curriculum" is one answer. It is charged with the duty of proposing ways to make the study of history more vital to mass communication programs.

Joe Campbell of American University is chairing this important work, joined by Terry Lueck of the University of Akron and Louise Benjamin of the University of Georgia.

The Task Force is looking at programs from the undergraduate through the doctoral levels. Here are some of the actions it is considering:

1. Encouraging all schools to offer an undergraduate history course—and require it of their majors. This is a goal that the AJHA has long sought. At its first convention, it adopted a resolution offered by Alf Pratte urging all journalism departments to require history. Today, we need to take steps to see that goal accomplished.

2. Encouraging graduate schools to recognize that history is as important as theory or any other area. Then we need to encourage them to offer graduate students the opportunity to study history equal to the opportunities in any of those other areas.

3. Evaluating the history curricula in doctoral programs. Let me propose something bold. Perhaps it is time for us to establish a review procedure of schools that offer the Ph.D. to assess their offerings in history. Should we not be taking this step as a means of encouraging some schools to do a better job?

If you are interested in improving history in our curriculums, please let your voice be heard. Contact any AJHA officer or committee member. It is a goal that we are committed to.

The AJHA can do a lot as an organization, but each of us must do as much as we can as individuals. Here are a few ideas.

1. We can start regional conferences.

The AJHA formally recognizes the importance of such meetings. They are an ideal means of encouraging scholarship and focusing attention on history.

In an effort to get more AJHAers to start regional conferences, Karla Gower is spearheading a special initiative. She can answer your questions and assist you in starting a conference.

I can tell you from ten years' experience with conferences in the Southeast that you will enjoy having one in your own region.

But you can't wait for someone else to start it. Why don't you do it yourself?

2. Each of us can practice the highest standards of scholarship.

Too often we have accepted superficial studies in our field and sometimes even held them up for praise. It is, unfortunately, too easy to think of such instances. Likewise, for some reason there are still many professors out in the world who say they are historians when in fact they don't take history seriously and have hardly a notion of the standards of real history. As you know, no one has to pass an entrance exam before claiming to be a historian. It would help, though, if they would get involved in the AJHA—where they would at least be around people who know what historical scholarship requires. Perhaps the fault, though, lies with us for not making known what good history demands of those who would enter its ranks.

As for ourselves, we must hold our own work to the highest principles that history demands. Then, we must pass them on to our students. The young people of today will become, you know, the historians of the next generation.

3. Each of us can "spread the word."

Outreach is a major part of the work of the AJHA.

But you, too, should help spread the word yourself. For example:

- Give presentations on the history of the subject matter of courses that other professors teach. Such presentations are easy to prepare. Yet they help to convince other professors, as well as students, of the relevance of history to current practices.
- Encourage students to submit papers to conferences. Although that practice is common with graduate students, consider doing it with your undergraduates. Often they produce research of high quality. Getting them involved in conferences is a good way to stimulate their interest in history. Who knows . . . one day one of your undergraduates, with a little encouragement now, may become a dedicated historian.

Those are only a couple of possibilities out of many. There are numerous things that each of us could be doing to make others aware of the vast importance of history.

We all tell ourselves that history is essential to a full appreciation of mass communication, and yet we sometimes are frustrated that others do

not recognize its importance. Perhaps the blame for the failure is ours. Couldn't we all be doing more to spread the word?

4. Be visionary.

There are many things that we as individuals and that the AJHA itself could be doing, things that have never crossed my little mind. But perhaps many of you have ideas. Please share them with the rest of us. Share them with this association of historians. Individually, we can each do our part—but as a unified group, who knows what we can accomplish!

Despite the fact that history has not yet reached the position that it should hold in mass communication, the last twenty years have seen it rise from near the bottom of the field to a point near the top. This improvement has surely benefited many of us in this Association. But it has done more. How fortunate it is for mass communication—for the entire field: for its scholars, its students, and all of its various professions—that there is an American Journalism Historians Association.

It has fulfilled its job of guarding the past—and in doing that, it has safeguarded the future for all of us.

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Book Review Editor's Note

by Tamara Baldwin, Book Review Editor

The books reviewed in this issue demonstrate quite clearly that scholars' interest in all things journalistic is not bound by one country's borders. Book reviews this time represent a sampling of topics both international and domestic of interest to the mass media historian and researcher.

Four of the books reviewed focus on the international press. The British media are the topic of a book titled *Television and the Press Since 1945* edited by Ralph Negrine and reviewed by Fred Hunter. Ross Collins reviews a bibliography of the French press during World War II titled *The Authorized Press in Vichy and German-occupied France, 1940-44, A Bibliography*, and David Vergobbi reviews *The Emergent Independent Press in Benin and Cote D'Ivoire: From Voice of the State to Advocate of Democracy,* Joseph Campbell's treatment of the press in French-speaking African nations. Rounding out the reviews of international interest is Ronald Ostman's look at David Permutter's *Photojournalism and Foreign Policy: Icons of Outrage in International Crises* about photojournalism's role in shaping foreign policy.

On the domestic side, the history of objectivity, the byword of American journalism, is the topic of David Mindich's book, *Just the Facts: How Objectivity Came to Define American Journalism,* reviewed by Kristi Bunton. Douglas Birkhead reviews Sam Riley's *The American Newspaper Columnist*, and Therese Lueck reviews *Stopping the Presses: The Murder of Walter Liggett*, an examination of the circumstances surrounding the newspaper editor Walter Liggett's death in the 1930s. The Editor's Choice selection is *Ambrose Bierce, An Annotated Bibliography of Primary Sources* written by S. T. Joshi and David E. Schultz.

Together, these books represent the rich mix of scholarship in journalism and media history topics being written today for us to ponder, debate, or enjoy.

AMBROSE BIERCE, AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRIMARY SOURCES

By S.T. Joshi and David E. Schultz, Greenwood Press: Westport, CT, 1999, 376 pp.

One of the stumbling blocks to scholars attempting to study Ambrose Bierce's work is their lack of awareness that much of his writing even exists. That is the conclusion of S.T. Joshi and David E. Schultz and the reason no doubt for their collaboration on the first attempt at an exhaustive bibliography of the newspaper articles, essays, satires, and poems of Ambrose Bierce.

The Introduction offers readers a useful overview of Bierce's writing career, giving a sense of the tremendous volume of his writing. Chapter One details sources for separate publications, and subsequent chapters focus on his many contributions to books and periodicals, reprints, manuscript holdings, and unlocated items. An appendix lists newly discovered works by Bierce, most of which appeared as "Social Chatters" columns for the *Wasp*, a San Francisco weekly.

The bibliography's arrangement works well and is user friendly. The chapter dealing with Bierce's separate publications, for example, provides a detailed listing of the contents of each of the entries. Included throughout the bibliography are explanatory notes by the authors. One such note follows the listing for *The Dance of Death*, which Bierce wrote in 1877 with his friend Thomas A. Harcourt. The work was taken seriously by some as a condemnation of ballroom dancing and created a scandal in San Francisco. In their note Joshi and Schultz provide references to two letters Bierce wrote in 1911 regarding his part in writing the book.

The bibliography's most extensive chapter is the one that focuses on contributions to books and periodicals. Listings here are organized by year, beginning with 1867 and ending with 1976. The chapter identifies the first time one of his works appears in print, useful information for the researcher interested in tracing the chronology and his progression as a journalist and writer.

In their introduction, Joshi and Schultz express their hope that this bibliography will enable researchers and scholars to get "...a little closer to the essence of the man and his literary achievement" (p. 12). Through their exhaustive bibliography of Ambrose Bierce's writings, his well known ones as well as his little known ones, they have provided researchers with an invaluable resource to aid in that endeavor and to help them better establish Bierce's place in the journalism and literature of his day.

> Tamara Baldwin, Southeast Missouri State University

THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST
by Sam G. Riley, Praeger: Westport, CT, 1998, 251 pp.

Many of us who teach opinion writing are prone to treat the newspaper column as a personalized offshoot of the editorial. The column is an ambiguous journalistic form, and any account of its origins is highly speculative. This book chooses to highlight its democratic lineage. Journalism historian Sam G. Riley suggests the American newspaper column evolved from the published letters of numerous citizen writers, amateur and literate alike. In proposing a candidate for the nation's first actual columnist, Riley has selected a largely symbolic exemplar of the craft: Lydia Maria Child, an abolitionist and advocate of Indian rights who wrote weekly letters for a New York newspaper in the 1840s. Child is the first of 780 columnists from the Antebellum period to the present sketched in this fine reference work. Riley himself is included, if only modestly in the preface, having written a column of *Southern Whimsy* for several Georgia newspapers as a young journalism professor.

The American Newspaper Columnist is the author's third book on the topic, having been preceded by an anthology and a biographical dictionary, all published by the Greenwood Publishing Group. The current volume is also mainly biographical, but the brief profiles are woven into chronologies within categories of column writing, such as humor, poetry, and politics. Separate chapters are devoted to general syndicated columnists and local pundits. A final chapter on minority commentators is an excellent historical catalogue of more than 130 columnists, beginning with Gertrude Bustill Mossell, an African-American schoolteacher from Philadelphia, whose first column appeared in 1885. Other pioneering practitioners include George Samuel Schuyler, W. E. B. Du Bois, Roy Wilkins, and Langston Hughes.

The association of the column with the editorial comes with the rise of the political columnist, a specialist gaining prominence in American journalism primarily in the 20th century. But the figure who perhaps best exemplifies the history of the American column, capturing the essence of its identity as a native form of democratic expression, is the humorist. As Riley suggests, humor is a barometer of freedom and equality. Long before these basic civil rights were extended to all Americans as citizens, they began to appear in the manners of society. Humorous writing over the course of the 19th century reflected the loosening of social restrictions and the lowering of class barriers. The style and content of many early newspaper humorists exalted folk wisdom. Journalism's lighter side helped incubate the nation's loftiest ideals.

As the press embarks upon its journey into the 21st century, Riley laments the newspaper columnists' waning influence. He is mildly reproachful of newspapers that depend too heavily on the free columns provided by

the nation's think tanks, most of which are supported by wealthy benefactors or corporations. He suggests their output is the editorial equivalent of the public relations press release. He also notes the decline in the hometown distinctiveness of newspapers. He prescribes a good local columnist or two, guaranteeing an infusion of journalistic personality, color, and vitality.

Riley is a historian with a traditional and respectful temperament. His book both chronicles the American newspaper column and celebrates it. Students who are assigned this work will sense they are reading journalism history wrapped in an honor roll. For the aspiring columnist, learning to appreciate the craft's precursors cannot do any lasting harm. The seeds of cynicism are plentiful enough along the profession's path.

>Douglas Birkhead, University of Utah

JUST THE FACTS: HOW OBJECTIVITY CAME TO DEFINE AMERICAN JOURNALISM
by David T.Z. Mindich, New York: New York University Press, 1998, 201 pp.

Just the Facts explores the history of objectivity, which David Mindich contends would be the supreme deity of American journalism were it a religion. He writes, "Even though it was the central tenet of American journalism for much of this century, objectivity has had no biographer, no historian, no soothsayer." What is objectivity and how did it come to be? These are the questions Mindich aims to answer in "Just the Facts."

The book grows out of Mindich's doctoral dissertation research at New York University. Mindich, a journalism professor at St. Michael's College in Vermont, dates objectivity to the 1830s, traces its development through the Civil War, and briefly examines its widespread acceptance in the 1890s. Using examples from New York newspapers, which he selected because of their national dominance between the 1830s and 1890s, Mindich breaks objectivity into five components and devotes a chapter to each.

Mindich's first component of objectivity is detachment from political parties, and he explores that detachment through a case study of the rise of the penny press and the career of the colorful *New York Herald* editor, James Gordon Bennett. The second component of objectivity is nonpartisanship, which Mindich analyzes by comparing the editorial stances of Bennett, whom Mindich labels a centrist nonpartisan; abolitionist editor William Lloyd Garrison, who is labeled an anti-partisan; and abolitionist orator and writer Frederick Douglass, who is labeled an activist nonpartisan.

The chapters devoted to Mindich's final three components of objectivity provide more intriguing case studies. In presenting objectivity's third

component—development of the inverted pyramid style—Mindich makes the case that Abraham Lincoln's secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, was actually an earlier and more accomplished practitioner of the non-chronological style of reporting than were news organizations such as the Associated Press, which is often credited with developing the inverted pyramid style and employing it in dispatches transmitted by telegraph. In fact, Mindich argues, Stanton's strict control of military information was enhanced by his heavily censored "just the facts" inverted pyramid-style war dispatches, which were eagerly reprinted by Northern newspapers hungry for information about battles in the South. Mindich demonstrates that the inverted pyramid-style report is more clearly evident in Stanton's dispatch after Lincoln's assassination than in concurrent Associated Press reports.

In presenting objectivity's fourth component—naive empiricism and facticity—Mindich demonstrates how both medicine's treatment of New York's 1832, 1849, and 1866 cholera epidemics and newspaper coverage of those epidemics evolved from a religious and philosophical emphasis to a fact-based, scientific, and objective emphasis. Finally, in presenting objectivity' s fifth component—balance—Mindich presents the most interesting case study of the book. Here, he turns to the 1890s to study the dispute between the anti-lynching crusader and journalist, Ida B. Wells, and the *New York Times* to illustrate how balance, a necessary component for objective journalism, can foster biased, skewed news coverage. Wells was a pioneer, he writes, in protesting that balanced newspaper coverage can actually endorse immoral activity, in this case lynching. Mindich also contends that Wells practiced a brand of journalism similar to today's public journalism when she inserted her own observations and those of overlooked, unquoted African-Americans into news coverage of lynchings for the African American press, as well as when she wrote of "proactive measures" to stop lynching.

The least satisfying aspect of *Just the Facts* is its conclusion, which seems an afterthought. The conclusion reiterates flaws in uncritical objectivity, but it fails to offer concrete directions for correction. This failing is especially disappointing in light of Mindich's skillful use of the history of objectivity to foreshadow weaknesses in today's journalism. Nevertheless, Mindich's book is a useful supplement to the journalism history bookshelf that already contains well-known titles such as Michael Schudson's 1978 book, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers,* and Daniel Schiller's 1981 book, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism*, if for no other reason than its strict focus on objectivity and its history.

>Kristie Bunton, University of St.Thomas

THE AUTHORIZED PRESS IN VICHY AND GERMAN-OCCUPIED FRANCE, 1940-1944. A BIBLIOGRAPHY
By Donna Evleth, compiler, Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1999. Bibliographies and Indexes of World History series, No. 48, 248 pp.

Sometimes those exasperated by media sensationalism and bias may like to muse: What would it be like if we could just shut down every publication in the country and start over from scratch? Of course, that's impossible. Yet it actually happened once, and not that long ago.

This somewhat staid-looking annotated list of French World War II-vintage newspapers and periodicals hides just such a remarkable story. It may be one of journalism history's most amazing events, yet perhaps not well known among a young generation of American historians. On 30 September 1944, the government of France simply eliminated every periodical published across the entire country. Every office, of every daily, of every weekly, of every printed product, c'est fini—some 2,500 titles in all. To feel the magnitude of such a decree, one might speculate on how a large country such as, say, the United States might react if every title, including the *New York Times*, *Parade* magazine, the *Laramie Boomerang*, even *Linn's Stamp News*, simply ceased to exist.

The French decree made shortly after the country's liberation was designed to create what French press historians call the "table raze." All periodicals that began publishing after the defeat of 1940 were finished. All periodicals that continued to publish in the occupied half of the country were also eliminated. All periodicals that continued to publish after Vichy France, roughly the southern half of the country, was occupied in November 1942 were also done for. Press property was seized by the state. This meant most every periodical in print, although some non-political periodicals and a few important newspapers that had fled Paris for Vichy France in 1940 were eventually allowed to reappear. Many of these had voluntarily "scuttled themselves," to use the French term, after German-occupying censors demanded they disavow the allied invasion of North Africa.

Most obvious of an old title allowed to reappear was *Le Figaro*, today one of Paris' largest dailies. Most obvious of an old title not allowed to reappear was *Le Temps*, a venerable Paris daily still used today by students as a French equivalent in authority to the *Times* of London or the *New York Times*. That *Le Temps* was "collaborationist" and therefore eliminated is not the whole story. In fact, De Gaulle's government of former resistance leaders set the deadline for elimination of Vichy newspapers at fifteen days after 11 November 1942. This meant *Le Temps* fell under the guillotine by a scant three days, having appeared until November 29. No coincidence: the government targeted this daily for its ties to a powerful steel trust. The

"table raze" was designed to eliminate not only collaborators, but the pre-war power of big money to influence journalism. To replace *Le Temps,* a new, government-sponsored but journalist-controlled daily appeared, *Le Monde.* Authorization to publish was given first to clandestine newspapers that hazarded illegal publication during the occupation, second to newspapers that had "scuttled" themselves during the occupation, and third to new titles launched by former resistance fighters.

This idealistic plan to purify the press from taint of capital, and to distribute titles to a marketplace of ideas both left and right, failed. By the end of the decade, many titles had disappeared, and the power of money and competition had edged back onto the familiar road of private industry.

This 2,500-entry bibliography reflects the story just before the "table raze" of 1944. Titles listed include each periodical's date of birth, often in the last century, and date of death, almost invariably 1944. Listed by French department (district) in occupied and Vichy zones, entries also include archival locations of each title (usually the national library in Paris), whether research has been done on the publication (seldom), and occasional comments about content. Comments sometimes offer interesting observations: "Published by the Vichy Ministry of Information"; "Legion of veterans, destined for rank and file members"; "Virulently anti-Semitic"; "The Toulouse edition continued until the end of 1943 to spare its employees the threat of being requisitioned for forced labor in Germany." All author's notes are in English. The list is compiled from French press directories, along with national archive and library listings.

The book offers a treasury of research possibilities during this period. It also is a useful general reference of French newspapers and periodicals, as many titles had published for some decades before the war. And, in sum, it is testimony to a fascinating episode of journalism history.

>Ross F. Collins, North Dakota State University

TELEVISION AND THE PRESS SINCE 1945
by Ralph Negrine, ed., Manchester: Manchester University Press (UK)/ St Martin's Press (USA), 1998, 212 pp.

In his work, *Television and the Press Since 1945*, Ralph Negrine combines extracts from primary documents (mainly government and Royal Commissions reports, House of Commons proceedings and Acts of Parliament), intertwined with memoirs or personal accounts of events and newspaper articles dealing with the subject.

Unfortunately, Negrine begins his book with a negative statement that limits its usefulness to the journalism and broadcasting degree courses now

proliferating in the new British universities that often combine radio, press, and television in their journalism curricula. Thus, Negrine has to limit his intent to "illustrate patterns of continuity and change with respect to specific media" with the admission that "there are, inevitably, some important omissions: there is nothing on the medium of radio [or] on the Internet and digital technology." Negrine also asserts that "it is too early to say how they will fit into the multi-media environment of the twenty-first century." Yet other publishers are not so hesitant. For example, Focal Press has published *Journalism in the Digital Age: Theory and Practice* by John Herbert for broadcast, print, and on-line media.

Negrine offers five chapters or themes that purport to deal with cable, satellite, and telecommunications; broadcasting and political communication; the British press, 1945-1998; and aspects of press performance. Each chapter includes an average of twenty-six extracts, beginning with "Terrestrial television, 1945-1998." This chapter opens with "The Introduction of Commercial Television: the Beveridge Committee," and ends, 133 extracts later, with "New Labour, New (Lobby) Rules." There are 134 extracts in total and each is preceded by an introduction of two lines to two pages. While the introduction to the first extract declares: "Radio was still the most important medium of mass communication . . . in 1949," Negrine omits any reference to radio in the book thereafter.

In his "Guide to Further Reading," Negrine does mention publications that comprehensively cover the decades since 1945. Prominent among them are Anthony Smith's two publications, in 1974, that only offer extracts up to 1973: the 254-page *British Broadcasting*, and the 308-page *The British Press Since the War.* Those thinking of using Negrine's work as a textbook or source book might ponder the following considerations. Smith's *British Broadcasting* provides twenty pre-1945 and twenty-five post-1945 "official" extracts and his *British Press,* ninety-four extracts, all post-1945. Yet, as far as this reviewer can ascertain, Negrine's book only offers the reader eight extra "official" post-1974 extracts, divided equally between press and broadcasting. By "official," I mean government reports and White Papers and the like. Even more disappointing is the fact that the 134 extracts in Negrine's book do not appear either in the Contents section, or in the index, under the headings in which they appear in his study. In both Smith's books all extracts are shown under Contents, making their use much easier for those utilizing these works. Another book recommended by Negrine for "further reading" is Colin Seymour-Ure's *The British Press And Broadcasting Since 1945* (1991, and revisions), which offers almost fifty tables to illustrate themes. Negrine, on the other hand, limits himself to only four tables.

While my observations might seem to be nit-picking, Negrine himself has suggested these other books for "further reading." In fact, these books may need to be read to make up for the omissions in his book, especially

when he offers only sixty-nine pages on the press, compared to Smith's 308 pages! Negrine asserts that there are "fewer documents" on the press than on broadcasting; yet, when it comes to topics like "Concentration of Ownership" and "Cross-media Ownership," there is a real need for some form of illustration or pertinent statistical tables. Similarly, while Negrine quotes from his doctoral dissertation, *Cable TeleVision and Community Access (1978)*, he seems to ignore one aspect of that experiment that resulted in the creation of an organization called Community Communications (often acronymned to ComCom), one of whose founders, the late Richard Dunn, became the head of Thames Television.

Official reports, as Negrine notes, are "no indication of their actual significance in terms of initiating or directing development" and that constitutes the main criticism of such collections. They omit so much and therefore cannot substantiate the claims of the publisher that this book "provides a comprehensive account of the development of the British media from 1945 to 1998." It does not.

>Fred Hunter, Independent scholar

PHOTOJOURNALISM AND FOREIGN POLICY: ICONS OF OUTRAGE IN INTERNATIONAL CRISES
by David D. Perlmutter, Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1998, 162 pp.

This book will get you thinking about those familiar, outrageous/dramatic photos that recycle in disparate media, often outside their original contexts. Why do some images become "rich and famous?" What "messages" do they send? How? Do they affect public decisions and policies? What impact do they have on the persons depicted? The photographers? The course of world history? These are not trivial questions, and this book is an important attempt to provide some of the answers, or at least to sharpen the questions. The book shows how complex visual analysis can become when coupled to public opinion and historical inquiry. It's hard not to like this very readable and well-organized book, especially when you realize it's based on dense inter-layers of background inquiry within an original theoretic premise.

Author Perlmutter takes pains to define his conceptual terms. He provides a long list of characteristics that can be used to define icons (celebrity, prominence, frequency, profit, instantaneousness, and so on). Similarly, he carefully delineates the concept of "outrage" (emotional reaction, sites of struggle, etc.).

Perlmutter's analysis of icons of outrage is developed within his theoretic premise of the "first person effect," a spin-off from W. Phillips Davison's "third person effect" hypothesis of public opinion. Davison's third person effect argued that media messages have impact because their perceivers feel the messages will not affect them but will affect others, and they, therefore, take action based on this premise. Permutter's first person effect argues that "discourse elites" give icons of outrage attention and take action because those images affect them personally and the elites feel the images will have similar effects on others.

In exploring this phenomenon, Perlmutter worries about the excessive rhetoric of discourse elites (especially public officials, journalists, politicians) concerning the probable impact of these visual shockers on the rest of us (the public) via the press; yet, he is mindful that a good deal of patented lip service lies behind political and public breast beating. He suggests that a certain cynicism might underlie the elite bellowing and bluster and that short memories and selective interpretation often are characteristic of citizens' issue consciousness. Perlmutter goes to great lengths to demonstrate that the discernable impact of the images in question often is negligible. Perlmutter also is insistent that business, commercial, and marketing interests interact with potential effects of these icons of outrage. In short, this is another instance where the myth of hypodermic needle/magic bullet effects is discredited by a probing, penetrating analyst.

To illustrate his theoretic background premise, Perlmutter chooses three specific icons of outrage for depth analysis: a starving African child, bowed to the earth with bony limbs and ribs protruding, with a scavenger bird waiting in the background (Kevin Carter/SYGMA, Sudan, 1993); a Saigon street execution by a Vietnamese General (Eddie Adams/ASSOCIATED PRESS, Saigon, 1968), and a lone protester staring down a military tank during the Tiananmen Square protests (Charles Cole/SIPA, Beijing, 1989). Fourth, Perlmutter discusses several icons associated with the "Battle of Mogadishu" between American troops and Somalis in October 1993. Perhaps the most notable of these icons are images of dead American soldiers being desecrated by Somali mobs.

Perlmutter is at his best in showing that the press frames these photographs in sometimes peculiar, particular ways and that alternative frames are possible, which, if adopted and publicized, would have strong implications for public understanding and reaction. In addition to the book's theoretic contributions, students of particular periods of history (e.g., the Vietnam War) will find densely footnoted, but highly readable, analyses of the role played by photography during those periods. Perhaps the only flaw in these individual chapters is the author's pervasive cynicism concerning The Establishment, whether Presidential, Pentagonal, or Press Pontifical. Depending upon whether the reader prefers dispassionate analysis or scholar-

ship with an attitude, this may or may not be disconcerting. One thing for sure—Perlmutter brings personal passion to his discourse.

What does come through loud and clear in this very worthwhile book is the need to buttress with empirical evidence what too often is superficial and subjective critique of icons of outrage. Results from the author's rather casual inquiries conducted among students in his classrooms concerning photographic images are sprinkled throughout the text. These certainly are not publishable as scholarship in the top journals of the discipline, but they are highly suggestive of the type of photojournalism research ideas that should be investigated. In fact, Perlmutter's modest classroom data collection forays provide some of the best evidence to date concerning photography's effects, or lack thereof, available to the scholarly community. Perlmutter's book sets forth a research agenda larded with ideas, challenging serious empirical scholars to take up the daunting task of helping us understand how visual communication works. This book, in a sense, is a tentative rather than definitive work. It calls for further investigation and suggests an open-minded willingness to revise based on research results. Bravo!

>Ronald E. Ostman, Cornell University

THE EMERGENT INDEPENDENT PRESS IN BENIN AND COTE D'IVOIRE: FROM VOICE OF THE STATE TO ADVOCATE OF DEMOCRACY
by W. Joseph Campbell, Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998, 138 pp.

W. Joseph Campbell seems the perfect person to deliver this succinct, pointed discussion of *The Emergent Independent Press in Benin and Cote d'Ivoire: From Voice of the State to Advocate of Democracy*, and he is. A former newspaper and Associated Press journalist who reported from four continents—North America, Africa, Asia, and Europe—in an award-winning, 20-year career, Campbell is presently an assistant professor at American University's School of Communication. Such a blending of the reporter's observatory powers and ability to find the heart of material with the scholar's qualities of sound method, analysis, and evidence have produced a strong, unique, and highly readable study that begins to fill the noticeable gap in English-language scholarly literature concerning the press of French-speaking African nations. But the study provides much more.

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, a diverse and outspoken press, free of state control, has emerged in Benin and Cote d'Ivoire. Campbell's purpose is to examine the causal forces and factors that have contributed to the rise of such a press because "they may illuminate factors and forces that influence political transitions elsewhere." Campbell bases his study on an

excavation of what he terms the "ethos of independent journalism," by which he means:

> the collection of values and practices that promotes and encourages critical scrutiny of power-wielding institutions and individuals, notably governments and government officials, and seeks to hold them accountable to public opinion. The ethos of independent journalism is derived from and valorizes plural opinion; it acknowledges and generally, if not always, tolerates conflicting points of view.

Campbell ascertained Benin's and Cote d'Ivoire's ethos through interviews and discussions with journalists, scholars, and government officials in both countries and by reviewing and analyzing thousands of articles from hundreds of issues of Beninese and Ivorian newspapers, all of which were published in French and translated by Campbell himself. After an overview of the independent press's development in sub-Saharan Africa, Campbell separately examined the origins and contemporary practices of independent journalism in both countries, then concluded with an analytical comparison.

Throughout his study, Campbell emphasized etiology, and his search for origins showed how the ethos of independent journalism can emerge from distinct sources and dissimilar historical legacies, despite prolonged periods of repression and autocratic rule. And this is what excites me about the book. Campbell's narrative account, a seemingly eyewitness retelling, explained how these two countries came to develop their own senses of free expression. Benin's and Cote d'Ivoire's freedom of thought—their "ethos of independent journalism"—may perhaps still be in process, but Campbell's study provides a template for other nations, ours included, to compare and analyze the historic, sociologic, and political/economic factors that create the need/desire of citizens to speak for themselves.

Benin's sense of free expression, for example, was shaped and informed by traditions of expressing dissent and dissident opinion through the press. "Traditions," wrote Campbell, "that took shape early in the twentieth century, during the era of French imperial rule." Cote d'Ivoire, however, shared little of the press traditions of Benin, even though France ruled it during the same time period. Campbell showed the Ivorian roots of free expression "can be traced to policies of the post colonial autocratic regime, which sought to channel and constrain dissent within state monopoly structures." In other words, while the independent press of Benin evolved through historical tradition, revolutionary thoughts—and the models of other freely circulating French-language newspapers—spurred the Ivorians to find their independent voice.

The United States can claim both legacies in its continuing struggle to obtain and retain First Amendment freedoms. Campbell's book thus provides, not only insight as to how and why emerging countries develop a tional reasons for our own freedoms.

Such perspective also defines its use to communication history instructors. I agree with the publisher's blurb that Campbell's book "is an important study for scholars and researchers of journalism in the developing world, particularly West Africa, and for students of African political life." And I believe Everette E. Dennis is correct when he claims students of "Africa, international affairs, and international communication will value its incisiveness and insights."

But for communication historians, the book's value lies foremost in its ability to show us that the drive for an independent voice, for freedom of thought and publication, for the need to engage in the governance process is a human drive experienced worldwide under all political conditions. Though $55 is steep for the slim volume, its resonance is deep. This case study of two small, French-speaking, African nations resonates with the antecedents of free expression that provide a powerful lesson for an English-language "First World" that too often dismisses such occurrences as unimportant.

>David J. Vergobbi, University of Utah

STOPPING THE PRESSES: THE MURDER OF WALTER W. LIGGETT

by Marda Liggett Woodbury, University of Minnesota Press, 1998, 288 pp.

The independent Midwest farmer rises from the windswept North Dakota prairie with the 1915 launch of the Nonpartisan League. Back across the Red River, from Minnesota's hummocky land of 10,000 lakes, the gritty laborer emerges as the Farmer-Labor party is formed three years later. From such unlikely pairings, decades of turbulent alliances provide intrigue enough for historians to view the election of Jesse "the Body" Ventura and even his squaring off with Minnesota mythologizer Garrison Keillor as a recent but unremarkable chapter of Minnesota third-party politics played in the national spotlight.

Marda Liggett Woodbury, a retired library director, connects the dots from Lincoln Steffens' turn-of-the-century Minneapolis muckraking through *Near v. Minnesota*, the 1931 decision that declared the state's "gag law" unconstitutional, in order to re-create the context for a non-fiction who-done-it of the murder of her father, radical journalist Walter W. Liggett. Having made powerful political enemies through editing and publishing his news-

paper, the *Midwest American*, Liggett was gunned down on a cold December evening in 1935 outside his family's apartment in Minneapolis. Bullets from the drive-by machine-gunner struck him in a tight pattern through his back as he stepped from the family car where 10-year-old Marda and her mother still sat beside the week's groceries.

To dispel the widely circulated image of her father as a carouser who blackmailed gangsters, Woodbury weaves personal recollections into her research throughout this slim yet densely documented volume. Much as her mother pursued lawsuits after her father's death to clear his name among contemporaries, Woodbury takes up her search to balance the historical record. She tells the story of a life-long crusading journalist who, along with his family, suffered hardship, especially poverty during the Depression, in order to publish an investigative newspaper. She reveals the loneliness in a life dedicated to tirelessly exposing political corruption and the family strength forged in withstanding the danger.

Woodbury recounts how from its stalwart roots in the rural Midwest, the Farmer-Labor movement grew increasingly corrupt in the urban gangland of early-century Minneapolis. Political bosses bought coverage as well as silence in the local press, circulating or repressing stories to fit their needs. Functioning as party organs, local papers carried stories fed to them, which national wires then picked up. Minneapolis bosses recognized the threat of a vigilant press and endeavored to stifle any voice out of harmony with the party line. Advertisers were lured away. Printers were enticed or threatened to leave. Special editions were suppressed or confiscated. Success in this business was bittersweet. Editors were arrested on charges trumped up to keep them busy and broke. Those who did not succumb to bribery or threats were murdered, and the leads to their assassins dropped. While editors were shot, others were literally run over, including a sympathetic senator who, being blind, was led into the path of an oncoming car.

The All-Party faction's ideological takeover of the Farmer-Labor movement propelled third-party candidate Floyd B. Olson into the governor's seat and set the story's climax in motion. Although Liggett was neither the first nor the last "fearless journalist" to be murdered in Minneapolis, he was responsible for exposing widespread corruption in the region's controlling industries. He had documented how the liquor industry operated unchecked during Prohibition to emerge as a cutthroat liquor cartel after Repeal. Although initially an Olson supporter, Liggett soon saw through the political subterfuge and began to call for then-governor Olson's impeachment. Challenging Olson to charge him with libel if his statements were false, Liggett was instead bombarded with fabricated charges of solicitation, from bribes to sex, which weakened already tenuous professional ties and drained family finances.

Woodbury's is a cautionary tale of the danger of journalistic truth amid the web of political rhetoric. She tells the story of a lone voice struggling to persist when local press and law enforcement are in the pocket of the politicians. She documents the deception and the destruction of character possible when even the most authoritative voices have been bought off, do not bother to check their facts, or do not verify the reliability of their sources. Her caution extends to historians, to take care not to propagate misinformation by accepting even credible reports and uncritically recounting them as historic fact.

"Stopping the presses" is a phrase that denotes a journalistic imperative. This tale's urgency resides in the phrase's double entendre—that of murder as the ultimate censorship. Woodbury's story is one that should not be ignored by journalism historians, those scholars who remind students of journalism that telling the truth was never meant to be comfortable.

>Therese L. Lueck, University of Akron

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A Journal of Media History

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Gerald J. Baldasty

Pioneering for Women Journalists: Boston's Sallie Joy White
Elizabeth V. Burt

Open-Ended Oratory: Fanny Fern's Use of the Periodical as a Rhetorical Platform
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Trying Television: WKOW-TV in the 1950s
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Book Reviews

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American Journalism, a publication of the American Journalism Historians Association, publishes articles, book reviews, and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political, or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising, and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; and theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history.

Definition of History:

For purposes of written research papers and publications, the term history shall be seen as a continuous and connected process emphasizing but not necessarily confined to subjects of American mass communications. It should be viewed NOT in the context of perception of the current decade, but as part of a unique, significant, and time-conditioned human past. Papers will be evaluated in terms of the author's systematic, critical, qualitative, and quantitative investigation of all relevant, available sources with a focus on written, primary documents but not excluding current literature and interviews. The narrative element (with a logical beginning, ending, and thematic unity) should be the core of written historical submissions offered to create meaning in our lives.

Submission Guidelines:

Five copies of manuscripts should be sent to Karla K. Gower, Editor, *American Journalism*, College of Communication & Information Sciences, The University of Alabama, Box 870172, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0172. Telephone: (205) 348-0132; E-mail: gower@apr.ua.edu.

Manuscripts should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th ed., and should not exceed the recommended maximum length of 25 pages not including tables and footnotes. Research manuscripts are blind refereed by three reviewers. *American Journalism* will accept only manuscripts that have not been published or scheduled for publication elsewhere. Manuscripts will not be returned to authors.

The journal is produced on Macintosh computers using *PageMaker 6.5* and *Microsoft Office 98* software. Authors whose manuscripts are accepted for publication are asked to submit their work on a PC or Macintosh disk, formatted in *Microsoft Word 5.0* or *6.0.1*.

To review or propose a book review, contact Tamara Baldwin, Book Review Editor, *American Journalism*, Dept. of Mass Communication, Mail Stop 2750, Southeast Missouri State University, One University Plaza, Cape Girardeau, MO 63701.

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Editor's Note

by Karla K. Gower, Editor

In many ways, journalism is the product of an interaction between a media organization and an individual journalist. As such, its history can be, and needs to be, examined from both perspectives. This issue of *American Journalism* contains two articles focusing on the organization and two on the individual.

In "Centralized Control in Newspaper Chains: E.W. Scripps and the Newspaper Enterprise Association, 1902–1908," Gerald J. Baldasty examines the effect of centralized control in newspaper chains on the production of news and on readership. His study of E.W. Scripps' Newspaper Enterprise Association gives an account of the first national newspaper chain, with an emphasis on the rationale for centralization and its consequences.

Outside influences had a major impact on the development of television in the 1950s especially for UHF stations. Kathyrn B. Campbell gives us a glimpse into one station's trials and tribulations as it tried to survive during a period of change and uncertainty in the television industry, in "Trying Television: WKOW-TV in the 1950s."

On the individual side, Elizabeth V. Burt and Elizabethada A. Wright each examine a woman reporter. In "Pioneering for Women Journalists: Boston's Sallie Joy White," Burt takes a closer look at Sallie Joy White, a woman who has been neglected for the most part by journalism historians, for her contributions to women's entry to the field. Wright describes Fanny Fern's use of the periodical as a rhetorical tool at a time when women were prohibited, for the most part, from actively participating in public discourse, in "Open-Ended Oratory: Fanny Fern's Use of the Periodical as a Rhetorical Platform."

Each of these articles contribute to our understanding of journalism history, and I'm sure you will find them an interesting read.

AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORIANS ASSOCIATION 2002 DOCTORAL DISSERTATION AWARD

The AJHA Doctoral Dissertation Award, given for the first time in 1997, is awarded annually for the best doctoral dissertation dealing with mass communication history. A cash award of $300 will accompany the prize.

Eligible works shall include both quantitative and qualitative historical dissertations, written in English, which have been completed between January 1, 2001, and December 31, 2001. For the purposes of this award, a "completed" work is defined as one which has not only been submitted and defended but also revised and filed in final form at the applicable doctoral-degree-granting university by December 31, 2001.

To be considered, nomination packets must include:

(a) One copy of the complete dissertation;

(b) Four copies each of the following items, with all author, school, and dissertation committee identification of any kind whited-out:

(i.) a single chapter from the dissertation, highlighting the work's strengths as a piece of primary-sourced original research [preferably not to exceed 50 manuscript pages, not including notes, charts or photographs],

(ii.) a 200-word dissertation abstract,

(iii.) the dissertation table of contents;

(c) a letter of nomination from the dissertation chair/director or the chair of the university department in which the dissertation was written;

(d) a cover letter from the nominee indicating a willingness, should the dissertation be selected for a prize, both to attend the awarding ceremony and to deliver a public presentation based on the dissertation at the 2002 American Journalism Historians Association Annual Convention, October 3-5, 2002 in Nashville, TN.

Nominations, along with all the supporting materials, should be sent to: Prof. David Abrahamson, Chair, AJHA Doctoral Dissertation Award Committee, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, 1845 Sheridan Road, Evanston, IL 60208.

The deadline for entries is a postmark date of February 1, 2002.

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Centralizing Control in Newspaper Chains: E.W. Scripps and the Newspaper Enterprise Association, 1902–1908

by Gerald J. Baldasty

The rise of newspaper chains in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries encouraged centralization of news production in an industry that had been long characterized by local control and diverse editorial voices. In the first national newspaper chain in the United States, E. W. Scripps relied upon centralized news production to control costs, to differentiate his papers from those of competitors and to assure a pro-labor point of view. Scripps' newspapers consequently were far more pro-labor than their competitors, but they contained far less local news and contained a substantial amount of generic, mass-produced news.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the rise of a new form of newspaper organization—the newspaper chain. Locally owned newspapers, run by printer/proprietors, gave way to large-scale, geographically dispersed concerns overseen by absentee owners and run by salaried employees. In the 1870s, there were virtually no newspaper chains; by 1935, they controlled nearly half of the nation's daily newspaper circulation. By 1995, they controlled 80 percent of circulation.[1]

These changes in the newspaper industry followed developments in many areas of American business circa 1900. The success of John D. Rockefeller in oil and Augustus Swift in meat packing showed that multi-unit companies could be more efficient and much more profitable than small, locally owned firms. The larger social implications of big business

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worried many, however, particularly after more than 1,800 firms disappeared via merger between 1895 and 1904. As Lamoreaux writes in *The Great Merger Movement in American Business*, "it seemed as if the United States had been transformed overnight from a nation of freely competing, individually owned enterprises into a nation dominated by a small number of giant corporations."[2] For newspapers, the creation of chains presented both opportunities and challenges. On the one hand, bulk newsprint purchases and joint non-local-news gathering could produce substantial savings amidst rapidly rising costs. On the other hand, controlling local costs and maintaining quality might be more difficult when owners were absent and managers were only hired hands. Significantly, both opportunities and challenges encouraged centralized control of an industry that had been characterized almost exclusively by local control and a distinct editorial voice. The rise of the centrally managed chain reflected a substantial change in the newspaper industry, one that critics charge has decreased diversity of content and lowered editorial quality. In 1960, Lindstrom wrote in *The Fading American Newspaper* that chains constituted "foreign" control that eroded local decision making and undermined newspapers' abilities to serve the "character, foibles, and temperament" of their communities. [3]

This article examines the operation of the first national newspaper chain, established by E.W. Scripps,[4] in an effort to detail the rationale for centralization and the nature, degree, and consequences of such centralization. In particular, this article looks at the centralization on news production, and the degree to which such centralization undermined the local character of chain-affiliated newspapers.

This article focuses on the period 1902 to 1908 because it marks the formalization of centralized control of news content in the Scripps chain under the direction of the chain's founder, E.W. Scripps. In 1902, Scripps established the Newspaper Enterprise Association (NEA), a centrally run news features service that provided illustrations, cartoons, editorials, and other material to Scripps' growing newspaper group. In 1908, Scripps turned active management of his companies over to his sons. This research draws on the E.W. Scripps Correspondence at Ohio University and on analysis of eleven Scripps newspapers.[5] The focus here is not on all aspects of centralization (such as accounting practices or purchasing) but solely on centralization of news production.

An analysis of centralization in chains is important for several reasons. First, this research shows how a newspaper's organizational structure can influence news. Researchers have demonstrated that politicians, advertisers, and other influences can shape news, but there are few historical studies that show how a newspaper's general operating structure influences news.[6] Second, this research shows the impact that chains had on news operations. Although recent social science research has provided fairly sophisticated

analysis of content in chain and non-chain newspapers, there are few if any historical studies that provide a systematic, non-anecdotal description of content in chains. Third, this research attempts to assess the implications of this new business form—the chain—for readers. In *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*, Alan Trachtenberg traces the implications the rise of big business had on the nation's culture and citizens. In this vein, how well were readers served by this new form of journalism? Did chains' centralization of news production substantially change the type and quality of news that readers received? Were chains, as Lindstrom argued, inherently unable to meet the needs and interests of readers?

Literature Review

This research draws on research work in four areas: on E.W.Scripps, on newspaper groups, news features syndicates, and on business management. The major works published on Scripps are either biographies or accounts of his extensive writings. The best overview of his writings is Oliver Knight's *I Protest: Selected Disquisitions of E.W. Scripps* (1966); the most comprehensive biography to date is Vance Trimble's *The Astonishing Mr. Scripps: The Turbulent Life of America's Penny Press Lord* (1992). Both are excellent for providing important information for understanding Scripps and his chain, although neither focuses on centralization, management, or the role of the NEA.[7]

Some historians, including Lee, Mott, Emery, Sloan, Folkerts, and Teeter, have provided a good overview of the advent of newspaper groups, although none attempted to analyze operations.[8] Various critics, including Liebling, Lindstrom, and Bagdikian, have written about problems associated with group ownership although empirically based research provides at best mixed support for their critique.[9] The key work on newspaper chains in the past twenty years has come from media economists and other researchers interested in the contemporary operation of newspapers.[10] Over all, there are no *historical* studies of how chains operated or how centralized management evolved.

The NEA was one of several supplemental news services that developed to meet the growing demand for cheaply produced content in the middle and late nineteenth century. Various patent inside/outside companies pioneered this work for weeklies in the 1860s; by the 1880s, features syndicates started by S.S. McClure, Irving Bacheller, and Edward W. Bok were serving dailies. Although several authors mention NEA, they do not detail its content and operations.[11] These studies characterize these services as an added service to American readers; certainly it is true that the sheer volume of content provided to readers grew exponentially over the course of

the nineteenth century. What's missing, however, is an analysis of the broad implications of these supplemental services in terms of the homogenization of content, the potential for displacement of local news, or, lastly, the role that chain-based services played in centralized control over news and opinion.

Lastly, this research draws on an extensive body of work on management. Drucker has identified three tasks of management: identifying a business's purpose or mission, making work productive, and managing social impacts. Flippo and Munsinger identified four functions of management: planning, organizing, directing, and controlling. However the functions are delineated, managers ideally define goals and create strategies to reach them. Control is a key ingredient throughout. As Yates writes, "Managerial control—over employees, both workers and other managers, processes, and flows of materials—is the mechanism through which the operations of an organization are coordinated to achieve desired results."[12] There are few historical studies that provide a sustained analysis of media management systems. Certainly there are some superb studies on publishers, such as Hearst, Pulitzer, and others,[13] from the period around 1900, but these tend to focus on personal aspects of control rather than systems or news-gathering procedures that could influence news in a far-flung newspaper empire.

The E.W. Scripps Newspaper Chain

Three key goals dominated Scripps' professional life. First, he wanted to build a national newspaper chain. He wrote, "I have what you might call an ambition or an object in life, and that object is to create a great and independent and useful newspaper institution that will cover the United States and which will be of future great benefit and service to this country." Taking his cue from the emergence of large-scale corporations in American business, Scripps maintained that a half dozen firms would come to dominate American journalism. Creating a chain was the only way to survive in a rapidly changing business environment.[14] Second, Scripps was convinced that product differentiation was the key to success for his newspapers, allowing him to flourish without facing costly competition from other publishers. Third, he wanted newspapers that spoke to the needs and interests of the common people. "Newspapers should be the friends, advisers, advocates, and even the special pleaders of the ninety-five percent of the population that were not rich or powerful."[15] These goals necessitated an emphasis on keeping costs low while resisting reliance on business interests that might disapprove of a working-class orientation or advocacy.

In all of this, he was quite successful. He established or purchased more than 40 newspapers between the late 1870s and the early 1920s. He

also established a national wire service, United Press, a news features service, Newspaper Enterprise Association, and Science News Service. His leading newspapers were in Cleveland and Cincinnati, although he had newspapers scattered in most sections of the country. He succeeded in producing a different style of paper, one that was particularly attuned to working class concerns. When he died in 1926, *Editor and Publisher* eulogized him as the hero of the worker, of the "forgotten man."[16]

Scripps accomplished his goals by relying on a highly centralized management style. This reflected an autocratic personality, his preference for "one man rule," as well as his desire to control costs while keeping his papers true to their working-class orientation. Scripps was convinced that centrally managed chain-affiliated newspapers could be run far more efficiently than individually owned newspapers, producing profits and independence from advertisers and public officials. Centralization was the key to success.

A key component of centralization was the Newspaper Enterprise Association.[17] The NEA provided a wide array of content to Scripps newspapers: "substantial" and "human interest" editorials, "first class" cartoons, jokes, fashion news, illustrations of current news, "special articles by special writers on live topics," short stories, and similar material. NEA was based at the Cleveland *Press;* it was run and carefully scrutinized by one of Scripps' chief lieutenants, Robert F. Paine. NEA sent page proofs of articles and mats for illustrations by mail to all Scripps papers. In 1902, NEA supplied six to eight columns of content daily.[18]

NEA and Centralized Control

E.W. Scripps developed his managerial style while working for and with his older brothers in the 1870s and 1880s, coming to believe that sharing power with others would lead to "anarchy;" only "one man power and responsibility" could guarantee business success.[19] The NEA helped Scripps in exercising this "one man power." It became a central component of the Scripps chain's infrastructure, providing substantial amounts of content to Scripps newspapers, facilitating expansion, assuring differentiation in content, and giving Scripps and his lieutenants substantial control over the content of newspapers hundreds or thousands of miles from corporate headquarters in Cincinnati.

NEA's role in building a chain, controlling costs. Between 1902 and 1908, NEA became a vital part of the Scripps chain's organizational structure because it allowed Scripps to expand much faster than before. Between 1878, when he started the Cleveland *Press*, through 1901, Scripps established or purchased eleven newspapers—an average of one newspaper about

every two years.[20] From 1902 through 1908, Scripps started or purchased nineteen newspapers—an average of three a year, with a peak of nine newspapers in 1906 alone. During this latter period, he also acquired an eastern telegraph news service, the Publishers Press Association, and merged it with two regional press associations he owned, forming the United Press Associations, and he established the NEA.

The burst of expansion beginning in 1902 was because of, in large part, economic efficiencies realized through NEA.[21] Controlling costs was a prime concern for all newspaper managers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; it was a greater concern for Scripps because he had limited capital. His ability to extend his chain depended in large part on how far he could stretch his money and thus on his ability to control spending at each of his newspapers. NEA cut costs by replacing each newspaper's expenditures for illustrations and features with a chain-wide features service whose costs were divided among the growing number of Scripps newspapers. Scripps' close control over NEA, coupled with its heavy, mandatory use by his newspapers, meant that he had direct control over a substantial part of each newspaper's operations and expenditures.

NEA's economic attraction was twofold: it cut costs and it pooled resources, thus producing a higher quality service than any one newspaper could afford. Cost controls are illustrated by the very substantial decline in news costs per column. Before the NEA was started, Scripps' Cincinnati *Post* was spending an average of $6.38 for each column of non-advertising it generated; NEA costs ran at $12.26 a column in 1907—averaging about 51 cents per column for each of the twenty-four Scripps newspapers then in operation, or one-twelfth what the *Post* spent before the NEA's establishment. [22] The combined financial resources of the Scripps newspapers, augmented by sales of NEA material to newspapers in cities where there were no Scripps newspapers, meant that the chain could produce a higher quality service than any one newspaper could afford. Scripps told Milton A. McRae, his long-time business partner: "Twenty or more newspapers get the full advantage of each dollar spent by the N.E.A., whereas only one newspaper gets the full advantage of the dollar spent locally." In 1907, Scripps told one of his newspaper's business managers, "Your [NEA] assessment is $15 per week, or $780 per annum. The present expenditure on the N.E.A. is about $100,000 a year. Thus for $780 your paper gets $100,000 worth of editorial work."[23]

Scripps attributed the chain's rapid expansion between 1902 and 1908 to the NEA. With NEA, he insisted he could start a daily newspaper with an editorial staff of two. It is not clear that he ever did, but his Dallas *Dispatch,* established in 1906, had an editorial staff of three and the Evansville *Press,* also started in 1906, had an editorial staff of four. In 1904, the editor of Scripps' Tacoma *Times* praised NEA, saying, "If it had not been for

this material, I would have been hard pressed to get out a paper with the small, raw work force that I have." In 1906, the editor of Scripps' Seattle *Star* told Scripps that NEA allowed that paper to run with a staff half the size of its competitors. "Our contemporary, the *Times*, employs a very large force of competent men, including thirteen of the best reporters that can be found and spends money like water to get news near and far. Against this effort, we can put half as many reporters and the N.E.A. And we can win out with the N.E.A."[24]

NEA not only reduced staff size, thus lowering expenses on salaries, but also cut production costs. Although NEA provided a wide range of articles and editorials, its special mission encompassed illustrations—photographs, cartoons, and other drawings. Given production processes, NEA illustrations were much cheaper than locally generated news articles that required the labor of reporters, editors, and typesetters. Large-scale local news production would require two or more typesetting machines. In contrast, NEA illustrations arrived in mats through the mail; metal castings (cuts) could be made cheaply locally. The result was editorial content that was cheaper than local news articles, both in terms of labor and machinery. The editor of Scripps' Spokane *Press* said, "You know, I'm running a one-[type-setting]-machine office and if I have cuts and cartoons enough, need only one shift. The N.E.A. saves the day." R.F. Paine, NEA's manager, told the business manager of the Scripps *San Diegan-Sun* that NEA material could be used "at ridiculously low cost."[25]

With few reporters, lured by low costs and faced with orders from the owner, Scripps newspapers carried a large amount of NEA material (editorials, features, jokes, photographs, cartoons, and illustrations). Scripps advocated that NEA account for at least 25 to 35 percent of each newspaper issue. Paine estimated in 1904 that about 40 percent of editorial space was filled by NEA material. In 1906, Paine estimated that NEA accounted for more than half of the Scripps Evansville *Press*'s content and "fully three fourths" of the content of the Scripps Terre Haute *Post*.[26] A content analysis of four Scripps newspapers established during the period of rapid expansion indicates that NEA material constituted an average of 59.5 percent of their non-advertising content during the first week of publication.[27]

A.O. Andersson, editor of the Scripps Dallas *Dispatch*, reported that he depended on NEA a great deal. "The first Frisco N.E.A. came in last night, and the whole matter was used at once, for we had cleaned up every speck of the Cleveland product and yesterday's mail had not brought the expected package. It came this morning, and was all edited at once, with the exception of one or two features."[28]

NEA and Product Differentiation. NEA also became a key part of the Scripps chain's infrastructure because it generated content that allowed his

newspapers to differentiate themselves from their competitors. Scripps was convinced that success would come only through such differentiation. He told his Denver editor, "I have tried to do everything that the other papers do not do, and to do nothing that the other papers did do." He added:

> But why would it not be better to follow the line of the least resistance and instead of competing with your contemporaries in the field which they occupy, simply devote yourself largely to dealing with subjects of interest which your contemporaries neglect or treat only incidentally? Let the public or the larger portion of the public depend upon the old papers for the things which they furnish well, while being compelled to patronize your paper in order to find interesting subjects which have scant or no attention from the other papers. [29]

Scripps told his San Francisco editor, "Whatever else you do, strive above all things to avoid the temptation of doing what other newspaper men do, simply because other newspaper men can do those things."[30] When W.P. Strandborg became editor of the Scripps Seattle *Star,* Scripps told him:

> Don't think of the other local papers as competitors. Read them to find out what they are doing. What they are doing well and satisfactorily, and what they can do better on account of larger resources than you do, don't try to do. Leave to them their field of catering to classes — one, two or a dozen different kinds of classes. Do what they are not doing, and do it in such a way that some people will take the *Star* who take no other paper, and that all people will take in order to know all that is going on."[31]

Despite these exhortations, Scripps worried that his newspapers would look too much like their competitors, especially if his local editors got caught up in the seemingly inevitable scramble for scoops and blockbuster news stories. NEA, however, allowed him to enforce a degree of product differentiation in his newspapers. The NEA was an exclusive service; no Scripps competitor had it. It offered a relatively new type of news product, the *news feature,* which provided background information on contemporary news events. And it provided a distinct set of illustrations, cartoons, columns, and "human interest" editorials that clearly set the Scripps papers apart from their competitors.

Scripps' editors recognized that the NEA allowed them to do something their competitors could not. F.R. Peters, editor of the Scripps Evansville *Press* said that the NEA was "one of the best things on earth" and something that his chief competitor, the *Journal News*, did not have. The Scripps

Terre Haute editor believed that NEA allowed him to provide a more interesting paper than his cross-town rival. The editor of the Scripps Seattle *Star* said that NEA gave his paper its distinct personality.[32]

NEA content. NEA produced a vast array of articles, new features, columns, cartoons, and other material. There were columns for women on fashion, women's issues ("Of Special Woman Interest"), on marriage ("What's a Model Husband?" or "Shall a Girl Marry Beneath Her?"), on courtship ("Symptoms of Insincerity—How Can Girls Tell True from False Men?"), and love ("Twelve Reasons for Love").[33]

NEA regularly produced a large number of illustrated human-interest or humorous columns. One such series focused on Diana Dillpickles, a hapless and naive romantic. Diana fell prey to get-rich-quick schemes when she sold club-like potato mashers, self-improvement when she became devoted to a physical culturalist or true romance when she fell in love with an English nobleman. Diana would soon discover that she'd been misled; no one would buy potato mashers, the physical culturalist was a fake, and the nobleman was really a servant to a nobleman. "Diana's Diary" was a regular NEA feature in 1906-1908.

Another humor column was "A Bit of Vaudeville," featuring Osgar and Adolf—both of whom spoke in a badly fractured German-English:

> "Say, Osgar, cashier me blease diss check.
> "Led me see dot check. Aha, as I oxpected, id iss from a yeast firm.
> "Goodness, den maybe id iss raised?
> "Yess, besides, id hass der looks like a blacksmith forged id."[34]

NEA's prime cartoon character in its early years was the misanthropic Everett True. Easily irritated and bluntly spoken, Everett told everyone around him just how little he cared for them. While others at a concert politely lied about the pianist's "execution," Everett howled that only a deaf person could have enjoyed the concert and that the only "execution" he favored was that of the pianist. On another occasion, Everett was outraged when a woman brought her small dog onto the streetcar; when the dog barked at Everett, everyone's favorite blusterer tossed the dog out the window. Everett was always at war with life's every-day irritations: people who moved too slowly, produce vendors selling overly ripe melons, blowhards and salesmen who interrupted his work or dinner. "The Outbursts of Everett True" was one of the most popular features of the Scripps newspapers.

NEA also produced short stories, poetry, jokes, and "human interest" editorials. The latter were inspirational exhortations on the power of positive thinking or hard work. "Don't Apologize for Yourself" contended that

MR. SKYGACK FROM MARS
SAW COUPLE OF EARTH-BEINGS IN FAULTLESS ATTIRE——EXTREMELY DIGNIFIED—— WORE CABALISTIC SIGNS ON CHEST—— POSSIBLY MEMBERS OF GREEK LETTER FRATERNITY ——EXPRESSION ON FACE LIKE CAT-BRUTE WATCHING CANARY-FOWL.
$ 8.50
$ 12.50

Figure 1 — NEA provided humorous cartoons to Scripps papers. Mr. Skygack was a Martian who usually misunderstood earthlings. Here he confuses two mannequins for human beings. *Seattle Star*, 28 February 1908, 4.

self-respect was the key to happiness because "people never think any more of you than you think of yourself."[35]

In addition to this type of material, NEA also produced news features. As wire services sped the delivery of news, the ability of newspapers to compete on the basis of getting the news first had diminished in the early twentieth century. Robert F. Paine, founder and head of the NEA, noted "Ordinarily, a news scoop now-a-days means a scoop for only a few minutes. You can steal news facts but *it is different to steal their treatment, and so editors have been paying more attention to the treatment, which means more feature matter."* Paine told one Scripps editor that the NEA "enables you to get, for almost nothing, features which have been proved successful all over the country and which your competitors cannot get."[36]

NEA news features were designed to help the Scripps newspapers differentiate their content from that of their rivals. NEA news features can be seen in the coverage of the 1905 New York state legislative investigation into life insurance operating in that state. State Sen. William W. Armstrong chaired the investigation in autumn 1905; it attracted considerable attention nationwide.[37] Most U.S. newspapers covered the hearings; the NEA material allowed the Scripps papers to present information that their competitors lacked.

Wire service reports, both from the Associated Press and from the Scripps-operated Scripps-McRae Press Association (a forerunner of Scripps' United Press), were quite similar in their accounts of the Armstrong hearings, so Scripps newspapers had the same general facts to report as did their AP-supplied rivals. NEA, however, added to their coverage by providing extensive background information. Two articles illustrate NEA's additional coverage. The first focused on the personality and appearance of Charles Evans Hughes, the Armstrong committee's chief investigator. An NEA article, appearing on 3 October 1905, in Scripps' Seattle *Star*, was a "character sketch" of Hughes:

> A man of average height and build as New York well-groomed lawyers go, he would not be picked out on the street. He seems 5 feet 8 inches, straight, thin, boney. Wearing a beard and mustache which conceals his lips but not his strong white teeth. Many think of the Roosevelt teeth. When he speaks the crowd looks at his teeth. They look away to his Greek nose with the wide, delicate sensitive nostrils—to his high forehead—a splendid forehead, though not broad like Daniel Webster's, and then they go back and stare at his teeth.[38]

Another article focused on John McCall, president of New York Life. After McCall testified that he was not a wealthy man, NEA distributed an

article on "THE HOME OF A POOR MAN," which detailed the splendor of his second home in the country:

> The country home of few of the wealthiest men in the nation display more regal splendor that Mr. McCall's country place at West End, N.J. There are no European monarchs who live in such costly magnificence . . . . The tower white mansion with its red tiled roof and green blinds stands upon a high eminence. From the far countryside it appears more like a big exposition building, or institution, than the home of one man, his wife and two sons . . . . It is said that the place cost $1,000,000. The stable alone cost $150,000.

The article also noted the luxurious landscaping (done by "expert landscape artists"), a crew of forty servants, including "nine men who do nothing but work upon the lawns and flowering shrubbery."[39]

Illustrations—photographs, line drawings, and cartoons—were another staple of NEA's daily output, further aiding product differentiation. Many of Scripps' competitors in the western states did not make extensive use of illustrations, either out of choice or because they lacked engraving plants. R.F. Paine contended that NEA allowed the Scripps newspapers to be the first in their markets to introduce illustrations. He told one editor that the NEA "enables you, at ridiculously low cost, to engage in an innovation . . . that all other . . . publishers will be bound to take up, sooner or later, in the natural course of progress."[40]

Coverage of the Armstrong investigation provides further evidence of NEA's ability to enhance product differentiation. A comparison of three Scripps newspapers with their chief competitors shows that almost half of the Scripps' papers coverage of the Armstrong investigation was graphic in nature (46.8 percent on average), compared to an average of just 5.8 percent for their competitors.[41] The difference is clearest in San Diego, where the Scripps competitors carried no illustrations on this issue. In Seattle, the two Scripps competitors carried some illustrations, although far fewer than the Scripps *Star*. In Sacramento, only one of the competitors carried illustrations on the Armstrong investigation.

Reliance on NEA facilitated product differentiation in other situations, too. The Scripps Seattle *Star* touted its exclusive NEA photographs during the Russo-Japanese war in 1904. "The credit of this splendid achievement is due to the men behind the Newspaper Enterprise Association, which is at once the youngest and strongest newspaper syndicate in America today."[42]

NEA and News for the Working Class. NEA also was an important part of the Scripps chain's infrastructure because it facilitated the generation of content aimed at the working class. This helped differentiate Scripps'

newspapers from their more conservative competitors; it also aided each Scripps newspaper in creating content most likely to attract readers not served by existing newspapers.

Scripps was determined to establish newspapers that spoke to and for the American working class. He contended that most U.S. newspapers reflected only the views of the rich few—"the employing or capitalist class"—with little knowledge or regard for the "wage earners" who made up the vast majority of the nation. Against the almost centrifugal force of aristocratic corruption, his goal was to produce a "daily newspaper that is almost reckless in its daring, in its loyalty to the common people and defiant of the aristocratic masses."[43] "My idea is to make a paper for the wage earners," he told the editor of his San Francisco paper, the *Daily News.* "The mission of The News is to be the mouthpiece of those who have no other mouthpiece."[44]

The NEA provided a large amount of material that reflected the needs and interests of the working class. Scripps said that the "primary aim and object of the NEA, like that of our newspapers, is to serve the great majority of the nation, namely that class that are not possessed of wealth . . . .We have created the N.E.A. for the purpose of spending large sums of money in the direction of benefiting the common people of the country."[45]

Scripps insisted that NEA should serve this function for his newspapers. Although NEA could be sold to non-Scripps newspapers in markets where there was no Scripps presence, Scripps and his lieutenants stressed that the NEA had to remain true to distinct Scripps principles. Its content should never be watered down to increase sales to outsiders.[46]

Scripps used NEA to ensure that his newspapers reflected working-class concerns. When Paul Blades, editor of the Scripps Los Angeles *Record,* proved reluctant to follow this working-class orientation in 1902, Scripps reminded him that the NEA was created to do what Blades was unwilling to do. Scripps told Blades, "I cannot change your faith, cannot give you faith in this, but I can order you to carry it. Maybe you will learn this way."[47] Other Scripps editors were not as reluctant as Blades to use the NEA, although Scripps worried that large staffs and plentiful equipment for type setting and production would tend to emphasize local news to the exclusion of NEA. He purposely limited the number of typesetting machines in his newspaper offices in an effort to force his editors to rely extensively on NEA.[48]

Most of the Scripps editors were ready advocates of the working class, and local news and editorials routinely argued for working class concerns. The NEA provided a large portion of the working-class content in the Scripps newspapers. Editorials, articles, photographs, cartoons, and sometimes even jokes focused on working-class issues and concerns. NEA produced a series "What Trade Shall the Boy Learn" in 1906, dealing with various apprenticeships open to boys. "A Type of Union Labor" described various union jobs—

Figure 3 — This editorial cartoon, produced by the Newspaper Enterprise Association, illustrates NEA's pro-labor point of view.

painter, locomotive engineer, compositor in printing trades, etc." Poems praised workers on holidays such as Labor Day.[49]

In articles and editorials, the NEA exposed and pilloried the "enemies" of the "Common People"—greedy monopolists, grasping railroad magnates, trusts, and government officials corrupted by big business. NEA attacked the "double standard" by which the rich appeared above the law, while the working class was held to strict accountability. NEA provided very favorable coverage on proposals that might improve living and working conditions of the working class, including pure food and drug laws, an end to child labor, prohibition, public ownership of utilities, safer and cheaper street cars, and direct election of U.S. senators. Articles and editorials focused on the rising cost of living and how it hurt the working class; articles provided sympathetic coverage and editorials genuine advocacy for workers in general and strikers in particular.[50]

NEA news features were distinctly pro-labor. Articles on child labor, for example, presented an indictment of that system. Coverage of unions or strikers did not provide a sympathetic or even-handed view of big business or management. In 1907, NEA provided distinctly favorable coverage of William Haywood, a union leader on trial in Idaho, while non-Scripps newspapers were far less sympathetic to Haywood. Consistently, NEA news features favorably reported on what were seen as working class issues: the inadequacy of workers' wages, the value of unionization, foul attacks on organized labor by government and big business, strikes and unions, and government ownership of transportation and communications systems—which ideally would result in cheaper fares, rates, and more equitable policies and regulation of trusts.[51]

NEA editorial cartoons invoked the same themes that appeared in editorials and news feature articles. The cartoons, however, simplified complex issues. A common figure was "Gen. Common People" fighting corruption, or Mrs. Common People, trying to feed her family despite the wiles of corrupt big business. In one cartoon, headlined "Modern Robbery of Mother Hubbard," "Mrs. Common People" like Mother Hubbard found her family larder bare, while a wolf labeled "Food Trust Wolf" says, "I Beat You To It."[52] Cartoons dramatized the cruelty of child labor, showing how rising costs squeezed working class Americans, praised and defended labor, attacked trusts and monopolies and promoted the popular election of U.S. senators.[53]

Impact on Readers

In *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*, Alan Trachtenberg details the social impact of industrialization in the late

nineteenth century. Although America was the marvel of that industrial age, many Americans were confused, frustrated, and angered by increasingly rigid social stratification and harsher working conditions.[54] In the newspaper industry, industrialization led to conditions that fostered the rise of newspaper chains and centralized management.[55] In the Scripps newspaper chain, the news features service constituted an important element of centralization; it lowered costs, facilitated expansion, and guaranteed a measure of content control across a dispersed and growing newspaper empire. But what impact did all of this have on readers? In a broader sense, how did newspaper modernization, as represented by the emergence of the centrally managed chain, influence content?

The impact on content due to NEA was threefold. First, NEA contributed to the rise of a generic style of mass-produced news designed in part to inform but also to entertain and fill space cheaply. Second, NEA's dominance reduced the amount of space and attention to local news in Scripps newspapers. Third, NEA provided distinctly pro-labor content for the Scripps newspapers, thus differentiating them from most newspapers of that era.

While NEA provided valuable and sometimes timely information to the Scripps newspapers,[56] it also emphasized content that would seem somewhat timeless.[57] Large portions of NEA content, such as cartoons and inspirational editorials, seldom carried any reference to contemporary issues or events; as such, they were as timely one week or month as the next. This type of generic content was designed in part to entertain and in part to fill space cheaply. Such generic content also allowed larger newspapers, which in turn meant more space for advertising and thus more revenue. By their nature, news features tended to amuse more than inform, all the while providing a non-controversial setting for advertising. Readers learned little about the events of the day but had greater access to advice for the lovelorn, jokes, and serialized fiction.

The mandatory use of NEA, coupled with small staffs, meant that Scripps newspapers invariably carried less local news than other newspapers of that era. On average, the Scripps newspapers ran about a fourth as much local news as their competitors.[58] Some of Scripps' lieutenants recognized the problem. In 1906, W.H. Porterfield, regional manager of most of the California Scripps newspapers, decried the lack of local news in many of his newspapers. The *Berkeley Independent*, he said, suffered from a glut of NEA material and "too little local stuff . . . It has been comparatively easy to get new subscribers but very hard to hold them."[59] E.H. Wells, regional manager of the Pacific Northwest Scripps papers, echoed this complaint, saying that the Scripps newspapers in Spokane, Seattle, Tacoma, and Portland were deficient in local news because of small staffs and the emphasis on NEA.[60] Scripps, however, cared little about local news and simply dismissed such

complaints.[61] NEA thus lessened the local character of the Scripps newspapers, providing readers with less information about their community and its concerns.

While the rise of generic, non-local news is troubling, centralization in the Scripps chain also allowed the Scripps newspapers to provide more favorable coverage of working-class interests than was common among American newspapers of that era. In *The Incorporation of America*, Alan Trachtenberg writes that most American newspapers of that era often opposed labor:

> In the popular press, workers found themselves stereotyped as the unwashed, unenlightened masses, swayed by disreputable-looking bomb throwers and associated with brutish caricatures of Irish potato eaters, slow-witted Slovaks, fun-loving Italians. On every count, labor seemed to represent a foreign culture, alien to American values epitomized by successful representatives of capital.[62]

In sharp contrast to that image of labor, NEA generated content that was favorable to the working class in general and to organized labor in particular. NEA cartoons focused on "Mr. and Mrs. Common People" and their battles with inflation, greedy trusts and unfair bosses.[63] On average, Scripps newspapers devoted nearly nine times more space to labor issues than did their competitors.[64] They were also more likely than their competitors to deal with a wide variety of labor-related issues, including worker hours and safety, wages, union-related political activity, and events such as Labor Day parades and picnics. Scripps' competitors defined labor primarily in terms of strikes rather than larger issues of every-day life,[65] thus focusing more on labor-related strife rather than on workers' lives and concerns. Labor unions, in turn, praised the Scripps newspapers and urged their members to support Scripps newspapers rather than their competitors.[66]

Conclusions

The rise of newspaper chains represented a distinct change in the operation of the American newspaper industry. Ownership shifted from local to absentee. The search for economic efficiency and the challenge of managing geographically dispersed concerns encouraged centralization of control at chain headquarters. In the Scripps newspaper chain, a key component of centralization was the chain's news features service, the Newspaper Enterprise Association.

Figure 1 — The Newspaper Enterprise Association editorial cartoons often portrayed the "Common People" at war with trusts and monopolies. Here "Common People" is confronted with rising living costs that exceed pay increases; all of this is the fault of "The Trusts" that artificially inflate prices to increase profits. *Seattle Star*, 7 September 1907, 5.

The NEA was an important part of the Scripps chain's infrastructure because it helped Scripps in reaching key business goals. It helped control costs, thus preserving capital for further expansion. It allowed Scripps to control a substantial part of content in each of his newspapers, thus assuring the product differentiation he saw as key to success.

While NEA had distinct advantages for Scripps, its consequences for readers were mixed. Centralization in general, and NEA in particular, limited the autonomy of local editors. Scripps' emphasis on NEA allowed him to keep his newspaper staffs small, which in turn diminished their ability to cover local news. Instead of local news, the Scripps newspapers provided their readers with NEA-produced generic news, some of which was informative but much of which was designed primarily to amuse and to fill space cheaply. Scripps wasn't the only publisher of that era filling his paper with such content, but his chain's heavy reliance on NEA meant that such news constituted an important part of the Scripps papers. On the other hand, when NEA produced more serious content, it often provided sympathetic coverage of working class issues. This distinctly pro-labor point of view was quite different from most newspapers of that era. As such, centralization and its corollary, limited local autonomy, is not inherently all bad; rather, centralization in the Scripps chain, at least, represented a series of trade offs necessitated by organizational goals.

Endnotes

1 Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media* 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1984), 680; John Busterna, "Daily Newspaper Chains and the Antitrust Laws," *Journalism Monographs* 110 (March 1989), 2.

2 Naomi Lamoreaux, *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 159. Also see Yale Brozen, *Mergers in Perspective* (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1982), 6-7; Alfred D. Chandler Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 285-376.

3 Busterna, 2; Carl Lindstrom, *The Fading American Newspaper (*Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), 92, 94.

4 Earlier publishers (as early as Ben Franklin) had had financial interests in more than one newspaper, although Sloan et al. note that "chain ownership was more a mark of the 20th than the 18th century" while Alfred McClung Lee characterizes the Scripps chain as the first centrally managed modern newspaper chain. Wm. David Sloan, James G. Stovall and James D. Startt, *The Media in America: A History* (Scottsdale, Arizona: Publishing Horizons, 1993), 207, 303; Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America: Evolution of a Social Instrument* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 397-405. Also see Jean Folkerts and Dwight L.

Teeter Jr., *Voices of a Nation: A History of Mass Media in the United States* (New York; Macmillan, 1994), 28-31, 476.

5 *San Diegan-Sun,* Seattle *Star*, Portland *News*, Denver *Express*, Oklahoma *News*, Sacramento *Star*, Los Angeles *Record*, Pueblo *Sun*, Tacoma *Times*, Evansville *Press*, Spokane *Press*. These newspapers were chosen because, first, they still existed; many of the Scripps newspapers are not available in any format. Second, these newspapers were analyzed because they represent both pre-NEA newspapers as well as papers started after the establishment of NEA. As such, they provide a representative view of the chain's use of NEA material.

6 The significant exception to this statement is Ted Curtis Smythe's "The Reporter, 1880-1900: Working Conditions and Their Influence on News," *Journalism History* 7 (1980): 1-11.

7 Oliver Knight, editor, *I Protest: Selected Disquisitions of E.W. Scripps* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966); Vance H. Trimble, *The Astonishing Mr. Scripps: The Turbulent Life of America's Penny Press Lord* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1992). Other sources on Scripps include Gilson Gardner, *Lusty Scripps: The Life of E.W. Scripps, 1854-1926* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1932); Negley D. Cochran, *E.W. Scripps* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1933); Charles R. McCabe, editor, *Damned Old Crank: A Self-Portrait of E. W. Scripps Drawn from His Unpublished Writings* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951).

8 Lee. *The Daily Newspaper in America*, 208-222; Frank Luther Mott. *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the U.S. Through 250 Years, 1690-1940* (New York: Macmillan, 1940), 460; Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, 680; Sloan et al., *The Media in America*, 207, 303-4; Folkerts and Teeter, *Voices of a Nation*, 476.

9 A.J. Liebling, *The Press* (New York: Ballantine, 1961), 15-67; Lindstrom, *The Fading American Newspaper,* Ben Bagdikian. *Media Monopoly*, 4th ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983,); Busterna. "Daily Newspaper Chains." Writing about the 1960s, James L. Baughman summarizes the impact of chains: "Despite the nostalgia of many newspaper critics for hometown ownership, the growth of chains . . . was not in and of itself detrimental to American journalism." James L. Baughman, *The Republic of Mass Culture: Journalism, Filmmaking and Broadcasting in America since 1941* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 121.

10 John G. Udell, *The Economics of the American Newspaper* (New York: Hastings House, 1978); David Pearce Demers, *The Menace of the Corporate Newspaper: Fact or Fiction?* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996); Busterna, "Daily Newspaper Chains" ; Robert F. Picard, James P. Winter, Maxwell E. McCombs and Stephen Lacy, editors, *Press Concentration and Monopoly: New Perspectives on Newspaper Ownership and Operation* (Norwood, N.J.: Albex, 1988); Doug Underwood, *When MBAs Rule the Newsroom: How the Marketers and Managers Are Reshaping Today's Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

11 Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, 342; Elmo Scott Watson, *A History of Newspaper Syndicates in the United States, 1865-1935* (Chicago: 1930); Eugene C. Harter, *Boilerplating America: The Hidden Newspaper* (Lanham, Md: University Press of America, 1991); Mott, *American Journalism*, 479, 482-3; Robert Stinson, "S.S.McClure and His Magazine: A Study of the Editing of *McClure's,* 1893-1913," Ph.D. disserration, Indiana

University, 1972, 16-22, 25, 32; Peter Lyon, *Success Story: The Life and Times of S.S. McClure* (Deland, Florida: Everett/Edwards, 1967), 53-109.

12 Peter F. Drucker, *Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 40; Edwin P. Flippo and Gary M. Munsinger, *Management,* 3rd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1975), 9; JoAnne Yates, *Control Through Communication: The Rise of System in American Management* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), xvi.

13 Some of the best biographies include W.A. *Swanberg's Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst (*New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961) and George Juergens, *Joseph Pulitzer and the New York World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,1966).

14 E.W. Scripps to Lemuel T. Atwood, 29 August 1906, subseries 1.2, box 7, folder 9, E.W. Scripps Correspondence, Ohio University. Unless noted otherwise, all citations will be from this collection. The goal of creating chains was invoked frequently by Scripps and by his lieutenants. J.C. Harper to R.F. Paine, 12 July 1906, subseries 3.1, box 21, folder 10; E.W. Scripps, Diary Notes, 18 June 1906, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 6.

15 E.W. Scripps to Robert F. Paine, 26 February 1906, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 17.

16 *Editor and Publisher,* 20 March 1926, 3.

17 There are other elements of centralization in the Scripps chain, including methods of financing and goal-setting; this research focuses just on NEA because it figured prominently both in operations and in content.

18 Newspaper Enterprise Association, 3 July 1902, subseries 3.1, box 11, folder 5; R.F. Paine to "Dear Sir," [1902], subseries 3.1, box 11, folder 5.

19 E.W. Scripps, "A Summary of Men and Measures to be Considered," August 1889, subseries 1.2, box 2, folder 3.

20 Three of these newspapers, in Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, were established or acquired with capital supplied by Scripps' brothers. E.W. Scripps himself acquired control of these papers only after they were well established.

21 Other factors, including large profits from some of his older papers, were important, too. Still the NEA made efficient use of those profits, thus facilitating expansion while keeping all news costs low throughout the chain.

22 L.T. Atwood to E.W. Scripps, 10 June 1891, L.T. Atwood to E.W. Scripps, 6 October 1891, L.T. Atwood to E.W. Scripps, 5 November 1891, L.T. Atwood to E.W. Scripps, 11 December 1891, all in subseries 1.1, box 4, folder 2; Scripps McRae League Report for 1893, January 1894, subseries 1.1, box 8, folder 2; Marlen E. Pew to R.F.Paine, 1 July 1897, subseries 3.1, box 24, folder 7. The cost to the Scripps newspapers was actually lower than 51 cents per column because the NEA service was sold to some non-Scripps newspapers. The size of this non-Scripps client base is not known, so the cost was computed just for the

Scripps newspapers. It is probable that at least another 20 to 30 newspapers were paying for the NEA service, which would have reduced costs to individual newspapers even more.

23 E.W. Scripps to Milton A. McRae, 22 April 1905, subseries 1.2, Box 5, folder 5; E.W. Scripps to Ward C. Mayborn, 18 December 1907, subseries 1.2, box 10, folder 4.

24 E.W. Scripps to E.F. Chase, 17 February 1906, subseries 1.2, box 6, folder 17; J.C. Harper to A.O. Andersson, 27 December 1907, subseries 3.1, box 25, folder 12; J.C. Harper to W.C. Mayborn and F.R. Peters, 24 December 1907, subseries 3.1, box 25, folder 12; E.H. Wells to J.P. Hamilton, 4 January 1904, subseries 3.1, box 15, folder 6; E.H. Wells to E.W. Scripps, 1 February 1906, subseries 1.1, box 26, folder 6.

25 E.H.Bagby to F.D. Waite, 19 November 1906, subseries 3.1, box 23, folder 1; R.F. Paine to "Dear Sir," 1902, subseries 3.1, box 11, folder 5; Newspaper Enterprise Association, 3 July 1902, subseries 3.1, box 11, folder 5; R.F. Paine to W.H. Porterfield, 17 June 1902, subseries 3.1, box 11, folder 3; R.F. Paine to George Putnam, 18 November 1902, subseries 3.1, box 12, folder 1 [Paine was quoting a letter Putnam, the Scripps Spokane editor, had written to him]. NEA mats were produced at a centralized engraving plant in Cleveland.

26 E.W. Scripps to Paul Blades, 24 July 1902, Letterbook 11, 56, series 2, box 7; Diary of R.F. Paine, Trip Eastward, 6, 21 November 1906, subseries 3.2, box 5, folder 12; E.W. Scripps to H.B.Clark, 6 October 1906, subseries 1.2, box 7, folder 12.

27 The papers were chosen because they came from key geographic areas where Scripps started newspapers during this era. The papers were the Pueblo *Sun* (with NEA constituting 64.2 percent of the first week's content), the Sacramento *Star* (51.9 percent), Tacoma *Times* (62.2 percent) and the Oklahoma *News* (59.5).

28 A.O. Andersson and H.J. Raymond to Milton A. McRae, 4 October 1906, subseries 3.1, box 22, folder 9.

29 E.W. Scripps to B.F. Gurley, 5 September 1906, subseries 1.2, box 7, folder 10.

30 E.W. Scripps to W.D. Wasson, 23 January 1904, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 3.

31 E.W. Scripps to W.P. Strandborg, 10 May 1903, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 1.

32 Diary of R.F. Paine, Trip Eastward, 21, 23 November 1906, subseries 3.2, box 5, folder 12; E.H. Wells to E.W. Scripps, 1 February 1906, subseries 1.1, box 26, folder 6.

33 On fashion: "An Azure Blue," Portland *Daily News*, 25 February 1908, 2; "New Spring Styles," *San Diegan-Sun*, 21 March 1906, 3; "Afternoon Gown," Oklahoma *News*, 12 November 1906, 2; "Peek a Boo Waist," Pueblo *Sun*, 8 October 1906, 2. On women's issues: "Of Special Woman Interest," Portland *Daily News*, 28 February 1908, 4; 4 March 1908, 4; 9 March 1908, 4. On marriage: Seattle *Star*, 31 May 1907, 5; 5 June 1907, 4;11 June 1907, 4; 15 June 1907, 4; Denver *Express*, 27 May 1907, 2; 29 May 1907, 2. On courtship: Seattle *Star*, 27 August 1907, 4; Portland *Daily News*, 4 May 1907, 3. On love: Portland *Daily News*, 3 May 1907, 3.

34 "A Bit of Vaudeville," Seattle *Star*, 9 August 1907, 4.

35 "Don't Apologize for Yourself," Seattle *Star*, 15 June 1907, 4.

36 R.F.Paine to E.W. Scripps, 13 September 1905, subseries 1.2, box 24, folder 7; R.F. Paine to W.H. Porterfield, 17 June 1902, subseries 3.1, box 11, folder 3.

37 Morton Keller, *The Life Insurance Enterprise, 1885-1910: A Study in the Limits of Corporate Power* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963).

38 Seattle *Star*, 3 October 1905, 7.

39 *San Diegan-Sun*, 16 October 1905, 1.

40 R.F. Paine to W.H. Porterfield, 17 June, subseries 3.1, box 1, folder 3.

41 These papers were chosen for analysis because all of their competitors were available for analysis, too, thus providing the basis for comparison between Scripps and non-Scripps newspapers. The papers, and their reliance on graphics: Scripps Seattle *Star* (41.7 percent graphic coverage on Armstrong investigation), Seattle *Times* (15.6 percent), Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* (9.5 percent), Scripps Sacramento *Star* (47.2 percent), Sacramento *Bee* (10.5 percent), Sacramento *Union* (0.0 percent); Scripps *San Diegan-Sun* (51.5 percent), San Diego *Union* and San Diego *Tribune* (both 0.0 percent).

42 Seattle *Star*, 7 March 1904, 1.

43 E.W. Scripps, "Non-Advertising Newspaper Scheme," 2 November 1904, subseries 1.,2 box 5, folder 3; E.W. Scripps to W.D. Wasson, 23 January 1904, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 3.

44 E.W. Scripps to W.D. Wasson, 23 January 1904, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 3.

45 E.W. Scripps to the Directorate of the NEA, 24 September 1907, subseries 1.2, box 9, folder 9.

46 NEA Incorporation, 26 January–1 March 1907, J.C. Harper Diary, subseries 3.1, box 23, folder 7.

47 Ibid.

48 E.W. Scripps to R.F. Paine, 25 April 1905, subseries 3.1, box 18, folder 10; E.W. Scripps to E.H. Wells, 31 October 1906, subseries 1.2, box 8, folder 2.

49 "What Trade" included articles on an apprentice for carpenters, machinists, steamfitters, structural iron workers and bricklayers. *San Diegan-Sun*, 22 February 1906, 5; 24 March 1906, 3; 26 March 1906, 3; Sacramento *Star*, 23, 24, 26 February 1906, all page 3. "A Type of Union Labor" included carpenters, painters, locomotive engineers, compositors and stereotypers. *San Diegan-Sun*, 3, 5, 8 January 1903, all page 3; 28 January 1903, 7.

Poetry included "Labor's Share" by Edmund Vance Cooke, *San Diegan-Sun*, 14 September 1903, 6.

50 Newspaper Enterprise Association, 3 July 1902, subseries 3.1, box 11, folder 5; F.D. Waite to R.F. Paine, 28 July 1903, subseries 3.1, box 14, folder 3; E.H. Wells to J.P. Hamilton, 4 January 1904, subseries 3.1, box 15, folder 6; R.F. Paine to C.H. Branaman, 27 December 1906, subseries 3.1, box 23, folder 4. Articles and editorials included: "Your Duty to Childhood," Seattle *Star*, 27 February 1907, 4; "The Child Labor Law," Portland *Daily News*, 19 June 1907, 4; "Child Labor," Pueblo *Sun*, 4 December 1906, 2; "New Arithmetic: Subtract 40 from 10," Seattle *Star*, 16 April 1907, 4; "High Wages that Are Low," Seattle *Star*, 12 December 1906, 4; " The Wolf Has Jumped Up On the Table," Portland *Daily News*, 3 October 1907, 2; "A College President on Union Labor," Spokane *Press*, 20 November 1902, 2; "Sympathetic Strikes," Portland *Daily News*, 10 August 1907, 2; "The Telegraphy Strike," Portland *Daily News*, 15 August 1907, 2; "The Men Who Rule the Senate and Misrepresent the People," *San Diegan-Sun*, 3 January 1906, 8; "Street Car Victims," Los Angeles *Record*, 13 February 1903, 4.

51 'Cost of Living Increased 40 percent by Trusts Works Amazing Hardships upon the Honest Poor of the Nation," Portland *Daily News*, 6 September 1907, 3; "Organize to Save Working Woman and Wage Earning Little Girls from Slavery and Disease," *San Diegan-Sun*, 13 July 1907, 1; "Benefits of Unions to Women Workers," *San Diegan-Sun*, 8 September 1906, 3; "Deadly Blows at Labor: Government by Courts," Portland *Daily News*, 11 March 1908, 2; "Titanic Battle Between Capital and Labor," Los Angeles *Record*, 4 August 1903, 4; "Gompers: The Kind of Man Who Leads Two Million Workers," Seattle *Star*, 24 December 1906, 3; "Object Lesson in Municipal Ownership," Seattle *Star*, 23 June 1905, 1; "Low Car Fare Opening Wedge to City Ideal for Ideal Citizens," Denver *Express*, 28 September 1907, 1; "The People and Street Railways," Oklahoma *News*, 25 October 1906, 4; "Regulating Railroad Rates," Seattle *Star*, 23 May 1905, 5; "Appalling Human Sacrifices in Railroad Wrecks Now Traced to Trust Avarice," Portland *Daily News*, 3 June 1907, 4; "Bitter Arraignment of American Railroads," Sacramento *Star*, 25 November 1904, 2; "Beef Trust Hits at the Government Inspection Law and Public In Between Gets Brunt of Blow," Denver *Express*, 4 May 1907, 4; "Railroads Enlist Courts to Help 'Em Beat the Law," Portland *Daily News*, 4 April 1908, 1.

52 "Modern Robbery of Mother Hubbard," Portland *Daily News*, 18 September 1907, 4.

53 "The Pursuit of Happiness," Seattle *Star*, 28 February 1907, 1; "Another Year's Work Well Done," Portland *Daily News*, 2 September 1907, 2; "Hazed Again— Dairymen Associations Raise Cost of Milk, Taking Advantage of the Common People," *San Diegan-Sun*, 22 January 1907, 1; "Grandma Scolds the Baby," Los Angeles *Record*, 20 January 1903, 1; "Thumbnail Sketches in the Senate," *San Diegan-Sun*, 23 February 1903, 6.

54 Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 38, 54, 56, 87-94.

55 Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977).

56For example, NEA provided exclusive pictorial accounts of the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, extensive investigative reporting on business ties of U.S. senators in 1907 and detailed coverage of labor leader Bill Haywood's trial in 1907.

57Such timeless, generic news wasn't new in the Scripps chain; it clearly dated to the boilerplate news productions serving American weeklies beginning in the 1860s. See *Journalist*, 27 March 1886, 10; *Pacific Printer*, June 1881, 2, 3; Ernest E. Calkins and Ralph Holden, *Modern Advertising* (New York: D. Appleton, 1905), 82-83; *Newspaperdom*, August 1892, 7-9; *Printers' Ink*, 14 January 1891, 97, 100; *Newspaper Maker*, August 29, 1895, 3; *Inland Printer*, April 1900, 46-47.

58A study of Scripps newspapers in three markets, chosen because all of their competitors could be studied too, showed that Scripps newspapers *on average* ran about half as much local news as their competitors as a percentage of total content. Given that the Scripps newspapers were about half the size of their competitors, overall, they ran about one-fourth as much local news as did other papers. Percentage of content devoted to local news: Scripps Portland *News*, 17.6 percent; Portland *Oregon Journal*, 57.8 percent; Portland *Oregonian*, 42.9 percent; Portland *Evening Telegram*, 47.0 percent; *San Diegan-Sun* (Scripps), 25.4 percent; San Diego *Union*, 54.1 percent; San Diego *Tribune*, 47.1 percent; Sacramento *Star* (Scripps), 22.3 percent; Sacramento *Bee*, 34.2 percent; Sacramento *Union*, 38.3 percent.

59W.H. Porterfield to B.H. Canfield, 9 December 1908, subseries 3.1, box 28, folder 11.

60E.H. Wells to J.C. Harper, 1908, n.d., subseries 3.1, box 26, folder 1.

61E.W. Scripps to B.H. Canfield, 20 May 1903, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 1; Scripps to H.B. Clark, 6 October 1906, subseries 1.2, box 7, folder 12.

62Trachtenberg, *Incorporation of America*, 88.

63Portland *Daily News*, 18 September 1907, 4; Denver *Express*, 1 July 1907, 4; Oklahoma *News*, 5 September 1907, 1.

64Five Scripps newspapers devoted an average of 9.1 percent of their total non-advertising space to labor-related issues, compared to an average of .97 percent for their competitors. Percentage of labor-related news: Scripps Portland *News*, 13.1 percent; Portland *Oregon Journal*, 1.5 percent; Portland *Oregonian*, 1.2 percent; Portland *Evening Telegram*, 1.3 percent; Scripps *San Diegan-Sun*, 5.5 percent; San Diego *Union*, .8 percent; San Diego *Tribune*, 1.1 percent; Scripps Sacramento *Star*, 7.7 percent; Sacramento *Bee*, 1 percent; Sacramento *Union*, .8 percent; Scripps Cincinnati *Post*, 6.1 percent; Cincinnati *Times Star*, .64 percent; Scripps Evansville *Press*, 13.2 percent; Evansville *Journal-News*, .5 percent. These Scripps newspapers were examined because they provided a cross-section of the chain and their major competitors were also available for comparison purposes.

65Coverage of strikes, as a percent of total labor-related content: Scripps Portland *News*, 25.4 percent; Portland *Oregon Journal*, 47.3 percent; Portland *Oregonian*, 91.8 percent; Portland *Evening Telegram*, 75.4 percent; Scripps Sacramento *Star*, 15.4 percent; Sacramento *Bee*, 66.9 percent; Sacramento *Union*, 62.7 percent; Scripps *San Diegan-Sun*, 32.3

percent; San Diego *Union,* 83.7 percent; San Diego *Tribune,* 90.5 percent; Scripps Cincinnati *Post,* 12.7 percent; Cincinnati *Times Star,* 73,1 percent; Scripps Evansville *Press,* 16.8 percent; Evansville *Journal-News,* 47.3 percent.

66Portland *Labor Press,* 28 January 1909, 2; Seattle *Union Record,* 15 August 1903, 3.

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Pioneering for Women Journalists: Boston's Sallie Joy White

by Elizabeth V. Burt

Sallie Joy White was the first woman staff reporter on a Boston newspaper, a founding member of the New England Woman's Press Association, an officer in several national press organizations, and an active member of the woman's movement. She acted as a mentor and role model to women seeking career opportunities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This study of her life and work, which has been overlooked by other journalism historians, provides a key to understanding the professional experience and development of women journalists during this period.

When Ishbel Ross published *Ladies of the Press* in 1936 it was perhaps fitting that she began her story with a description of Boston newspaperwoman Sallie Joy White.[1] Ross's book, the first published history of women journalists, was a pioneering work, just as Sallie Joy White, who in 1870 became the first woman staff reporter on a Boston newspaper and in 1885 helped found the New England Woman's Press Association, was also a pioneer.[2] But Ross, who was writing at a time when the number of women working at newspapers and magazines had grown to more than twenty-three percent of the country's reporters and editors, used her description of White to illustrate not how much White had accomplished but, instead, how far women had come since.[3]

Ross saluted White's ambition, evidenced in her desire "to be treated like a man," and her gumption in convincing a Boston editor to let her cover a suffrage convention, but then discounted these very accomplishments by comparing her to "modern" women reporters. White, she said,

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had been treated as a novelty by her male colleagues and superiors who had assigned a youth to accompany her to evening assignments and had lined the office floor "with papers to keep her white satin ball gown from picking up the dust." A modern woman reporter, wrote Ross, could never "take the time to wonder why someone does not find her a chair," or "change the ribbon of her typewriter." The modern woman reporter, instead, "must be free to leap nimbly through fire lines, dodge missiles at a strike, board a liner from a swaying ladder, write copy calmly in the heat of a Senate debate, or count the dead in a catastrophe." Sallie Joy White had never covered fires, labor disputes, or political news, she pointed out. White had, instead, written columns on society, fashion, and the home. "In due time," Ross concluded somewhat inaccurately, "she married and faded into the mists."[4]

Ross's attitude toward Sallie Joy White is an example of what historians call *present-mindedness*, that is, the tendency of "projecting the present back into the past."[5] By judging Sallie Joy White by the journalistic standards of the 1930s and by comparing her record to those of the most successful women who had followed her, Ross painted a picture of a woman, who though perhaps of interest during her own time, had nothing to say to future generations. She was an anachronism, nothing more than a figure from the past who, perhaps rightly in Ross's view, had "faded into the mists."

Ross's present-mindedness was most likely strongly influenced by her agenda in publishing *Ladies of the Press*. At a time when women journalists were still facing extreme difficulties in establishing their professional legitimacy, it was important that she prove through this work that women could do just as well as men in journalism.[6] Thus, as she traced the evolution of female journalists from colonial printers to "literary ladies" of the 1800s to the stunt reporters of sensational journalism to the political correspondents, Ross repeatedly measured them against contemporary standards. Women who were the most memorable and successful, in her account, were those like herself who were at the right place at the right time, who were aggressive, persistent, and enterprising, who could quickly collect the facts and report them accurately and with style, and who could meet any challenge, mental or physical, to accomplish their task.[7]

By measuring Sallie Joy White against these standards, however, Ross failed to capture those characteristics that made the Boston newspaperwoman so influential during her own time. Ross's description, for example, failed to explain why, in 1894, a contemporary described White as "first as well as foremost of 'all-round' women journalists in New England . . . known not only throughout New England but throughout the United States."[8] It failed to explain why White was perceived as a leader and was repeatedly elected to office in both women's and mixed-sex press organizations as well as women's clubs from the 1880s until shortly before her death in 1909. It failed to explain why, upon her death, the Boston *Globe* recognized her for the help

and encouragement she had given to younger newspaper women, "for whom she had blazed the journalistic pathway."[9] As historian James Startt points out, present-mindedness "blurs the search for truth about the past . . . , fails to reflect the true past and becomes an expression of a fixed idea."[10]

Ishbel Ross, perhaps, set a standard for the way in which both journalism history and woman's history would regard Sallie Joy White, for in the more than sixty years since *Ladies of the Press* was published, White has been mentioned only in passing in a few histories of women journalists, and these cite Ross as their source.[11] The usual explanations given for the failure to produce individual women's histories—the paucity of documentary records and the lack of recognition in their own time—do not seem valid in this case. Documents and evidence of contemporary recognition abound. For example, although White's newspaper stories and columns followed the custom of the times and were rarely bylined, she did write a regular column for several years under the pen name "Penelope Penfeather." Second, she was prominent in local and national organizations and often appeared on their programs as an officer or speaker. Third, unlike many women journalists, her papers are preserved in a collection, which although not complete, provides a picture of her personal and professional life. Finally, many of her articles and columns are included in this collection.[12]

The question, therefore, is: why has the story of Sallie Joy White been ignored and consequently excluded from journalism histories? Perhaps the explanation lies in Ross's evaluation of White, colored by her desire to promote the coming new breed of woman journalist: "Sally [*sic*] was neither the first nor the best of the early women reporters. She was merely the symbol of a point of view that has changed surprisingly little in the last half century"[13] This pronouncement that White represented the past and had not even been very influential in that past may have sent a message to future historians that White's story was not a fertile field for inquiry and that they would do better to examine instead those women Ross had identified as pathbreakers.

This historian, instead, believes that the story of Sallie Joy White is rich with possibility. It provides a poignant picture of the challenges faced by a woman attempting to first enter and then succeed in journalism during a time when few women could gain entry to the newsroom. It illustrates how women who were professionally isolated networked through women's organizations where they eventually created a culture of professional as well as emotional support. It shows how one generation was able to encourage and mentor the next. The story of Sallie Joy White shows how one woman took advantage of the woman's movement to promote women's place in her chosen profession.

White was not only a pioneer in her field; she also serves as an example of what many of the women journalists of her time experienced. Through

this story, Sallie Joy White emerges as more than the symbol described by Ross. She becomes, instead, a key to understanding the evolution of women journalists of the nineteenth century.

Finding her Niche

Sallie Joy White was born Sarah Elizabeth Joy in Brattleboro, Vermont, in 1847. The only child of Rhoda and Samuel Sargent Joy, she lived a privileged middle-class existence and, unlike the majority of girls in her time, was able to attend school through her teenage years. During her years at the Glenwood School for Girls, she discovered the urge to write and began to follow the example of the "literary ladies" of the time who published poems, short stories, and sketches in the copy-hungry periodicals of the day.[14] She sent her work first to the local Brattleboro newspaper and eventually to other Vermont newspapers as well as some journals such as *Wide World*, and soon began to publish under her own name as well as under the pen name "Flora Forrest."[15]

After her graduation from Glenwood and the death of her father in 1865, White moved to Charlestown, Massachusetts. Perhaps Brattleboro was too limited in its opportunities, perhaps she felt uncomfortable remaining with her mother who remarried shortly after her father's death. At any rate, she took a room with family friends while she sought to establish herself in a satisfying job. There were not many options for "satisfying work" available, however, and like many educated young women of the time, she began work first as a teacher, then as a librarian. She was lucky here, for she became an assistant at the Loring Circulating Library, which was something of a rendezvous for New England authors, intellectuals, and reformers.[16] During these years she continued to dream of supporting herself with her pen and published numerous pieces in New England publications, including the *Home Journal*, the Vermont *Record and Farmer*, and the *True Flag*.[17] It was clear from her letters home, however, that she was eager to move on. When her employer extended her hours at the library without raising her pay in winter of 1869, she wrote her mother that she would leave the job as soon as she found something else, concluding, "I will not be bullied by any man."[18]

But as frustrated as the aspiring writer was with her job at the library, it was here that she met some of the established women of the older generation who would become her mentors. A Mrs. Bingham, an editor for the juvenile publication *Myrtle*, for which she had written a series of short stories, introduced her to suffragist Mary Ashton Livermore, who was in the process of putting out the first edition of the *Woman's Journal*. Livermore apparently recognized the young woman's frustration as well as her poten-

tial and offered her a job as her clerk and assistant at the new suffrage publication.[19]

Livermore apparently saw White's job at the *Woman's Journal* as only a temporary measure, however. She believed the young woman would be of more use to the woman's movement as a reporter for the general circulation press, which was generally hostile toward women's rights and either refused to cover the movement at all or ridiculed it.[20] Livermore and Bingham began to lobby for their protégé's entry into journalism, and shortly after starting her work at the *Woman's Journal*, White wrote her mother:

> Dear mama. I'm going with [Mrs. Mary Livermore] to see Black of the Commonwealth and some other editors. She and Mrs. Bingham have got it into their heads that I would make a grand reporter and they are trying what they can do. I know I should like that. It is what I have had on my mind for some time. There would be great change and variety [and] enough labor to suit me . . . . Oh dear, I wonder if I shall find my niche by and by. Mrs. Livermore says she thinks if I am once put in the way that I shall make a better reporter than Miss H. [Nellie Hutchinson of the New York *Tribune*] because she thinks I'm more in earnest . . . [O]f all of the reporters at the Friday's convention, not one, even the Boston *Post*, which is so bright, could begin [to compete] with Nellie Hutchinson's. They have a way of giving dry detail and make them so terribly matter of fact and statistical that people don't care to read them. But her's [*sic*] are so fresh, breezy bright and enthusiastic that people can't help reading them. I wish one of the city papers would give me a chance at Vermont, I know I'd write a good report for them.[21]

A Reputation of Which Any Man Would Be Proud

Within the month White had been hired by the Boston *Post* (all expenses paid and seven dollars a column) to cover the Vermont suffrage convention.[22] She was the only woman reporter at the Brattleboro convention, and her presence did not remain unnoticed, but instead was treated by other newspapers as an event in its own right, for in those days the existence of a woman reporter was still a novelty.[23] One article, for example, described her physical and girlish charm as well as her comportment as a reporter, declaring that she had "made a reputation as a newspaper correspondent and reporter of which any man may well be proud. And this is 'saying a great deal for a woman.' Miss Joy is as independent as she is self-supporting and she votes for woman suffrage."[24] Another praised her writing, which it described as "entirely free from the 'slang-whanging,' slap-dash, dare-devil character of reports made in the New York *Tribune* and can be relied upon as truthful."[25]

Her stories were popular because they were infused with color and anecdotes, and often revealed a wry sense of humor. They were far from the dry and statistical stories she had noted in the Boston papers, as can be seen by the following example:

> Brattleboro has had a fire and a flood, and now it has a Woman Suffrage convention. I saw an old farmer yesterday with the inevitable blue woolen frock and cart whip snugly stowed away under his arm, reading one of the posters announcing the meeting. Patiently he waded through it, then turned on his heel and wondered "What in the thunder'll come next." That no one could tell him. An earthquake, somebody suggested. The Millennium, say the interested women. But whatever is to come, the convention and the attended spirits are here now. . . . [26]

White's coverage of the woman suffrage conventions of that spring secured her a permanent position on the Boston *Post*. She was soon publishing articles on prominent women, women's clubs, suffrage meetings, and political conventions. She also wrote "letters of correspondence" from vacation spots along the New England coast, some of which appeared in a regular column, "At Home-Matters." In addition, she published letters and articles in a half dozen other newspapers, including the New York *World* and *Our Society*, earning more than $160 between September 1870 and April 1871 from these extra jobs.[27] Her work, which often bore her byline, Sarah E. Joy, her initials, SEJ, or the pen name, "Joyeuse," frequently poked fun at upright and stodgy Boston. In one story published in the *World* under her nom de plume "Joyeuse," for example, she reported that not all Bostonians limited their "social lives" to church, but that some were even known to attend the theater.[28]

At the same time, she wrote articles for the *Post* that revealed some of the more serious aspects of life. In 1871 and 1872, her series on Boston's North End Mission were praised as brilliant and descriptive. "[Her articles] are so different from the chronic dryness and pointlessness of essays on the poor," wrote one admirer in a contemporary newspaper. "They are so readable and suggestive when contrasted with the habitual deliverances and have done much to make people understand the wretchedness of the poor in Boston."[29] Her work was apparently so well received that the Portsmouth (New Hampshire) *Gazette* mistakenly reported that "Miss Sarah L. [*sic*] Joy of the Boston *Post* and perhaps the brightest lady reporter in the country" had been hired by *Our Society* and was to be paid an annual salary of $2,600. The report that the popular reporter had accepted the offer was quickly refuted by the *Post*, which announced that she had preferred to retain her position at the *Post* and that her many personal friends would no doubt "rejoice at this decision."[30]

White maintained her connection with the woman's movement. She occasionally published poems and articles in the *Woman's Journal*, continued to cover state and local conventions and meetings, and in 1871 became the secretary of the newly organized Middlesex County Suffrage Association.[31] She did not forget her own struggle in getting established in Boston and devoted many of her articles to the difficulties facing women striking out on their own that provided solutions to such practical problems as finding housing and getting appropriate training for jobs.

Although she was just at the beginning of her career, she was already being upheld as an example for other women—not only as a successful and independent woman, but as one who was opening the way for her sisters in a promising new field. "Miss Joy has one qualification necessary to work upon a daily paper. She is quick, she writes rapidly, her thoughts flow freely, and her pen keeps up the pace," stated one article under the headline "A Woman in a New Field." "Miss Joy's position is one that many women can fill and one for which they are particularly adapted." A sketch, probably published in the *Woman's Journal*, described her as a woman often referred to as "the lady reporter" at the conventions and public meetings held in Boston. "[Just] as Lydia Maria Child has been called the grandmother of feminine journalists, so one day Miss Joy may be styled the pioneer among women Boston reporters," it predicted.[32]

Marriage and Beyond

Despite the role of pioneer that had been credited to her, White bowed to social convention and left her job at the *Post* in 1874 when she married musician Henry K. White, Jr., for while a middle-class woman might be hard-working and talented, in the 1870s, she was expected to renounce ambition and career for the domestic sphere when she married. But, unlike the ideal, marriage often fell short of bliss. This marriage brought the birth of two daughters, a few years of connubial happiness during which White helped her husband establish the short-lived Artists' Guild in Boston, and then years of separation and financial hard times. After their first few years together, Henry was increasingly absent from the family's home in Dedham, Massachusetts, and left the family definitively after the birth of their second daughter in 1879. He occasionally sent letters and small amounts of money to his wife, leaving her to bear the financial responsibility of herself and their daughters.[33]

Despite, or perhaps because of, her domestic responsibilities, Sallie Joy White turned to the only work she knew. She called on the assistance of her widowed mother, who came to Dedham to keep house and care for her two small daughters, and was soon writing again. Despite her previous experience, though, it wasn't easy to get a regular staff position at a newspaper, and

like many other women writers, she worked as a "contributor," sending her material to a number of newspapers simultaneously. In this way, she published regular columns for both the Boston Sunday *Times* ("Woman's Kingdom" and, ironically, "Household Chat from a Happy Housewife") and the Detroit *Free Press* ("House and Home Papers") as well as "letters of correspondence" and articles on fashion in the Boston *Daily Advertiser*. These columns and letters covered a wide variety of topics, from "How Female Suffrage Works in Wyoming," to "Househunting" and "In the Suburbs."[34] In addition, she wrote a series of sketches on prominent women such as Phoebe Cousins, the "first lady lawyer," and actress Maud Granger, for the Boston Sunday *Times* under the byline S.J.W. She also published a series of articles in the Boston Sunday *Chronicle*, "Women I Have Known," which profiled prominent women such as suffragist Susan B. Anthony and reformer Eleanor Kirke.[35]

Building on this base, White concocted a scheme in 1878 to publish letters on "fashion and general matters of interest" in more than forty newspapers in New England, New York, the midwest, and the south. To the New England papers she offered the letters at no or only partial charge. She recognized that this was a somewhat "peculiar" proposition, she wrote in her proposal, but explained that she was offering it because she knew these papers could not afford to pay her in full because of the general "hard times." She hoped, nonetheless, that by publishing her work they would make it familiar to the New England public and create a demand that would prove profitable to her at some future and more prosperous time. "You need not fear that in my fashion articles I shall drop into senseless puffery," she assured the editors of the two dozen newspapers. "I shall give reliable information, which I am sure will interest your lady readers." To the fifteen other newspapers in the south and Midwest, she offered the letters at two dollars each. At a time when few women received set salaries for their newspaper work, publishing a constant flow of material in a number of publications was the only way they could earn a living wage. In the next six months, White's account book shows, she received at least $310 from thirteen of these newspapers.[36]

By the early 1880s, metropolitan newspapers that had long been geared toward male readers were beginning to recognize the value of women readers who, advertisers had discovered, made the majority of household purchases. Although Boston papers were slow to label specific women's pages or sections as such, they had certainly begun to court this untapped market and were beginning to publish a clearly recognizable page devoted to women readers. Here they gathered stories on fashion, food, home furnishing, and advice of all kinds as well as stories about women's events, women's clubs, and the occasional profile of a prominent woman. To increase her marketability, White attended and completed a program in home economics so

that she would be able to add to her repertoire all those recipes and household hints for which women readers were apparently clamoring.[37] By early 1885, she had parlayed her expertise into a full-time position at the Boston *Herald*, where she was to remain for the next twenty-one years. Here she poured out rivers of copy on women's fashions, cooking, sewing, and home decoration, as well as articles on the woman's movement, issues affecting women, and women who had become leaders through their social and professional contributions.[38] She also regularly wrote general interest articles based on speeches, lectures, concerts, plays, and current literature and about the celebrities who produced them.[39]

Creating a Network of Women

In 1885, Sallie Joy White was, to all practical purposes, a single working mother supporting herself and her two young daughters by her work in an industry that could hardly be called friendly to women. She had been called a pioneer in 1873 and now, twelve years later, was still an anomaly in a male-dominated profession. True, she was no longer the only woman working on the staff of a Boston newspaper, but the number of her female counterparts could be counted on one hand.[40]

As is almost always the case, being in the minority was not as much about numbers as it was about power, or rather the lack of power. In the 1880s, professional women were not only a minority because of their numbers, but because of the general customs, mores, and traditions that permeated American life during the 1800s. Following the years of the early Republic, woman's sphere had contracted to the home, where her primary duty became to provide comfort, counsel,

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and moral guidance to husband and children. The world of work, politics, and independence belonged to the male sphere, and women who sought to enter it were perceived not only as "unwomanly" but also as a threat to male dominance and security. Thus it was only with great difficulty that in the last quarter of the century women began to break down the barriers blocking their way to education, work, and financial independence. And their actions were rarely welcomed or encouraged by the male half of society.[41]

In *Ladies of the Press,* Ishbel Ross noted humorously how White had been set apart from her more rambunctious cigar-smoking, whiskey-drinking male colleagues by her white satin dress and some of the societal expectations held by those very colleagues—responses that could be described as gentlemanly at best and patronizing at worst.[42] But despite White's comparative success in achieving acceptance, it would be more accurate to say that she and other women working for newspapers at this time were typically greeted by ridicule and even hostility. "Young ladies who dared to lift their heads in the sea of journalism immediately became the targets for envenomed shafts of small men," wrote one woman journalist about the general climate of the period. "Their abilities were questioned, their intentions suspected, their reputations bandied from sneering lip to careless tongue, and on every hand they were met with discouragements, until the waves of disappointment and all the billows of despair rolled over them."[43]

Not only were women isolated in the newsrooms where they worked, they were also isolated in their chosen profession. Press clubs, which had started organizing during the 1860s, were all-male organizations that mixed business and pleasure and routinely excluded females from membership. Although these clubs were largely social, they also provided occasions where professional issues were discussed and important contacts made. To exclude women from these professional fraternities prevented them from experiencing a sense of professional community and legitimacy. Their exclusion further accentuated their identity as what feminist scholars have come to call "the other."[44]

In November 1885, White and five other Boston newswomen took a step to change this. At the instigation of Marion A. McBride, a special editorial writer for the Boston *Post*, the six women met in White's office at the *Herald* to establish the New England Woman's Press Association. Earlier that year McBride had participated in the organization of the Woman's National Press Association, which was founded to act as an umbrella organization for state and regional associations its founders hoped would follow. The New England Woman's Press Association was the second of these to be established, following the Illinois Woman's Press Association, which had been founded in Chicago that June. The primary purpose of NEWPA was a practical one—"to promote acquaintance and good-fellowship among newspaper women [and] to elevate the work and the workers." A secondary pur-

pose was to "forward, by concerted action through the press, such good objects on social, philanthropic, and reformatory lines as may from time to time present themselves."[45] This second purpose was an indication of how rooted this professional woman's organization was in the broader woman's club movement of the day.[46]

Taking on the Role of Leader

Of the six founding members of NEWPA, White, at thirty-eight, was the oldest as well as the most experienced newswoman, with fifteen years of regular newswork behind her. This seniority was recognized by the group in their unanimous vote that she be president of the fledgling organization.[47] In so doing, they also recognized White's considerable experience as an officer and member of other women's clubs. She was, for example, a founding member and former officer of the Middlesex County Woman Suffrage Association, the Daughters of Vermont, and the Fortnightly Study Club of Dedham, as well as a member of the New England Woman's Club.[48] But NEWPA was the first woman's *professional* organization to which White belonged, and it was here that she devoted her greatest energies. She remained president until 1890, held various positions on the executive committee for the next eighteen years, and then held the presidency again from 1908 until shortly before her death in 1909.[49]

Under White's leadership, NEWPA, which grew to a membership of 134 by the end of the century, held both social and professional meetings.[50] At its social meetings, prominent members of the community were invited both as guests and as speakers and entertainers, giving women journalists a chance to rub elbows with some of the influential people of the day. At its professional meetings, topics in journalism were addressed as well as purely organizational issues. Members often read papers and participated in debates on woman's role in journalism, and White was a frequent speaker at these events. In 1896, for example, she delivered a paper on "The All-round Newspaperwoman," a phrase that had earlier been used to describe her.[51]

After 1890, the New England association expanded its horizons by affiliating with several national press groups such as the International League of Press Clubs and the National Editorial Association, both mixed-sex organizations, and the International Federation of Women's Press Clubs, which was organized in 1891.[52] NEWPA also participated in more general women's endeavors and in 1893 joined the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs.[53] Even as NEWPA was expanding its networks, White sought to maintain the close connections she had established among the Boston newspaperwomen. In 1891, after completing her five-year NEWPA presidency, she established and became the first president of the Boston Woman's Press

Club, whose membership was limited to women active in that city's newspaper work.[54]

Beyond Boston

The 1890s must have been years of heady satisfaction for White. Now in her forties, she began to travel to attend the conventions of the many organizations of which she became an officer and representative. In 1891, for example, she traveled by train through Canada to the Pacific Northwest and California. Her journey, which was concluded by her attendance at the annual convention of the National Editorial Association in San Francisco, was punctuated by a series of signed articles that ran in the *Herald* between September 1891 and April of the following year.[55] During this trip, she frequently gave lectures on women's role in journalism and in August 1891 was the principal speaker for a meeting of the Pacific Coast Woman's Press Association. In a report of the event published in the San Francisco *Morning Call*, White was described as "that pioneer of newspaper women," and her listeners were described as "listening with breathless attention to her clear ringing words."[56]

In 1893 White once again traveled westward, this time to attend the convention of the International League of Press Clubs in St. Paul, Minnesota. As one of the League's five vice presidents, she was its only female officer and was surrounded by prominent male journalists such as John A. Cockerill, former editor-in-charge of the New York *World*, and Charles H. Taylor, publisher of the Boston *Globe*. At a dinner sponsored for the League by the St. Paul Press Club, she was one of five speakers. "I was the one woman to make a speech at the banquet and was said to have made the best speech of the evening," she bragged in a letter to her younger daughter Grace. "When I tell you that Murat Halstead [liberal editor of the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*], Col. De Long, and two members of Congress made the other speeches, you may imagine that I felt *proud*." Her topic was "The Woman in Journalism." The trip concluded with a stay in Chicago where White participated in the Women's Congress at the World's Fair, at which she was one of seven New England women to read a paper on the role of women in the press.[57]

White also spoke frequently to a more general audience, especially to women's and suffrage organizations, thus spreading her confidence in women's abilities as professionals and serving as a role model. In 1900, for example, she attended the biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Milwaukee. Here, in a session on the press, she spoke on the "growing comradeship between the club woman and the newspaper woman." Times had changed since she first started as a reporter, she said, and club

news was now welcomed by newspapers. As for opportunities for women in journalism, she reported somewhat optimistically, their position on the pay roll was "just the same as that of the newspaper man."[58]

It was during this period also that White began to publish books on homemaking and careers for girls. The first of these, *Housekeepers and Homemakers*, published in 1888, gathered up much of the material she had offered over the years in her newspaper columns for the Boston *Advertiser* and the Boston *Post*. In 1897, her attention turned to careers for women in "Newspaper Women," a chapter in Frances Willard's *Occupations for Women*. The book, for which White, along with Helen M. Winslow, was listed as an assistant, covered the gamut of careers open to women at the end of the century, from stenography to medicine. In 1899 White published her own book on this topic, *Business Openings for Girls*, which, of course, included a chapter on "Newspaper Workers."[59]

Some Advice to Newspaperwomen

These two chapters, "Newspaper Women" and "Newspaper Workers," are especially interesting because they reveal so much about White's view of her life work. She takes pains to make a distinction between *literary workers* ("those who write for magazines and story papers" and "those who in the shelter of their own home write letters for daily or weekly newspapers") and *newspaper women* ("those who go into the newspaper office, have regular desks there, 'take assignments,' and go out to attend to them, going to their work as the young men go to theirs and working side by side with them"). She pointedly explains the difference between the *journalist* (the "dilettante" who thinks "more of his title than his achievement") and the *newspaper worker* (an "honest worker" with "no make-believe about him or her"). White praises the girls who would go after a job at a newspaper with persistence and imagination, just as she had. The girl, instead, who stood hopeful and ladylike outside the newspaper office "with folded hands, waiting for someone to die or resign, and so leave an opening for her" would always be passed by those who had instead won the position, she warns. And while newspaper work is rewarding in that "it catches and holds the enthusiasm of the workers as nothing else does," White warns that it is hard and demanding work and not an easy way to earn a livelihood. "The number of women who are earning less than a thousand dollars a year in newspaper work is very much greater than those who are earning that amount," she says, deflating illusions that riches are to be gained in this line of work.[60] Like Ross, who would publish her own work on women journalists thirty-seven years later, White exhibited her own brand of present-mindedness by thus distinguishing between literary workers and newspaperwomen. She was, in a sense,

dismissing the women who had been publishing in newspapers when she got her own start in the late 1860s. Ironically, in fact, she was dismissing her own experience as a newspaper writer before being hired by the *Post*.

Always a proper lady (though with unconventional ambitions), White warns against grandstanding: "Above all things, do not try to enhance your own value by writing about yourself and your own affairs and accomplishments. It is simply the most palpable and laughable kind of self-laudation, and no girl of refinement or good breeding will show such a lack of taste as to permit herself to make this pitiful bid for notoriety."[61]

White practiced what she preached. As she settled into her writing style, she never forced her own personality upon the reader, a technique used by some women writers like the flamboyant Nellie Bly to make themselves major actors in their own stories.[62] Many of her stories published between 1885 and 1905 dealt with the issues working women faced and how they might resolve them. At a time when society still believed women should remain in the home to be supported and protected by their male relatives, White took pains to establish that many women instead had been forced by circumstances to support themselves. For these, as well as those who simply wanted to work, a job was not just a stopgap measure but a permanent situation. In "The Working Girls: Necessity of a Business Preparation for Them," she reiterated this theme, then interviewed a prominent Boston businessman, Eben Jordan, and a woman's rights advocate, Mary A. Livermore, for details on how girls could be prepared for a life's work. According to Livermore, the first step was to provide training and employment opportunities to girls in the areas where they were most able. The next step, according to Jordan, was to allow them to move up in their jobs, advancing from beginners to fully trained workers with no limits on their possibilities anymore than there were limits for boys working their way up.[63]

Over the years White wrote about the women working in a variety of fields, including factory workers, shopgirls, newspaperwomen, women in medicine, and women pastors.[64] She also addressed practical concerns facing working women, such as the difficulty they had in finding proper and affordable housing, and described some of the solutions offered by social agencies such as the YWCA, or experience, which suggested co-operative housing.[65] But she also pointed out problems that were not so easily addressed, such as the patronizing attitude of male colleagues toward women professionals and the double burdens of professional as well as domestic demands placed upon working women.[66]

White also profiled prominent women and female celebrities, and typically played up their independence and expertise in their chosen field. At the same time, she attempted to reassure her readers that there was nothing unwomanly in such attributes. Thus, in 1885, she described French novelist Mme. Greville, who had come to America for a series of lectures. Greville,

she wrote, was "a woman who is not only able to command herself, but to rule others . . . . There is nothing half-hearted in her ways of expressing herself, and though she has the masculine element in some degree, there is NOTHING UNWOMANLY in her manner or conversation."[67]

As hard working and accomplished as she was, however, White knew only too well that a career in journalism was always a bumpy ride. During the recession of 1897, for example, despite her reputation and considerable track record with the *Post*, she, like many other staff reporters, was reduced to space rates and returned to the status of staff writer only a year later when the financial crisis passed.[68]

Just Ask Penelope

In 1904, Sallie Joy White's career reached its apex. Most likely in an effort to attract women readers and increase circulation, the *Herald* gave her a regular, signed column in its newly established "Women's Section."[69] Following the tradition of other women writers who had taken alliterative pen names, she published this under the name "Penelope Penfeather."[70] The column, which first appeared during the week under the heading "As Penelope Sees It," ran anywhere from two to three full columns and dealt with anything from women's clubs to tidbits of gossip on fashion and local celebrities to anecdotes to general observations on life. Here White abandoned her habit of removing herself from her work, wrote in the first person, and freely indulged in some of the topics that interested her the most. She frequently used the rhetorical device of antagonist dialogue to support her narrative,[71] as in this example from early in 1905:

> I can always tell when the 'pointed paragraph' aimed at women's clubs is written by one of the young men on the newspaper staff. Not because it is ill-natured, it never is that; not because it pokes fun at them, because it is more often given to seriously commenting, but because it shows such a lack of acquaintance with the personnel of these clubs and also of their aims. In many of them there is the accusation by implication, that by belonging to these clubs, women are neglecting their homes, permitting their husbands to live lonely . . . and shirking altogether the duties of motherhood. Sometimes these young men get positively pathetic in their pictures of homes desolated by the woman's club. I see only one cure for them, and that is to marry a good capable club woman and see how companionable she is and how sensibly she manages her home.[72]

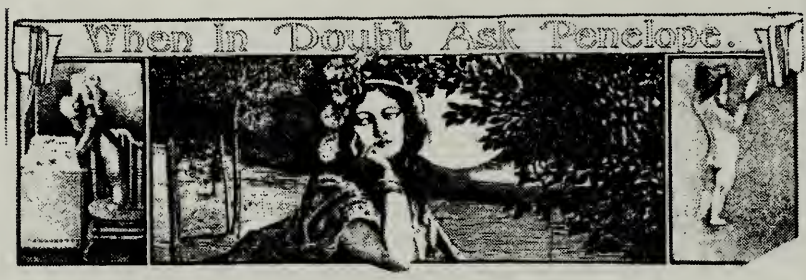

Figure 1—Boston Sunday Herald Magazine Section, 2 July 1905, 11.

The column presented White with a literary freedom she had never fully enjoyed in all her years of newspaper work. The situations she described were the type of situations she encountered every day, but here she was clearly employing a certain literary license to create composite characters whom she could set up and then knock down at will. Besides having conversations among themselves, some of these characters often had imaginary conversations with her also, addressing her as "Miss Pen" and asking her advice on topics as varied as the geographic location of "table d'hote" to the best way to get out of an awkward situation. With a gentle touch of humor and a wry wit, she could use the column to expose ignorance, snobbery, and prejudice at will.[73]

The Penelope columns generated a deluge of fan letters from both men and women asking for advice on a range of topics. They were such a success that the *Herald* soon announced it would also give White a full-page chat column in its Sunday magazine section to answer her readers.[74] Over the next year and a half, this appeared under several headings with elaborately designed illustrations: "In Confidence With Penelope," "When in Doubt Ask Penelope," and "Ask Penelope." Here, White responded to questions from both men and women ranging from how to preserve squirrel skins for coats to whether a girl should consider becoming a governess to the meaning of the phrase "hoi polloi. As popular as the column apparently was, it eventually fell victim to the *Herald's* competition with other Boston newspapers. Constant experimentation with the form and content of the magazine section eventually led editors to reduce the size of the Penelope column and on 5 August 1906, the column disappeared entirely to be replaced by a general interest feature, "Things You Don't See Every Day."[75]

Perhaps it was this editorial decision to eliminare her column that led White to sever her longtime connection with the *Herald*, for shortly after, her "As Penelope Sees It" column began to appear daily in the Boston *Advertiser*. She continued to publish her column in the *Advertiser* until shortly before her death from cancer in March 1909 at the age of 62.[76]

A Pioneer and More

Sallie Joy White was remembered by her contemporaries for three accomplishments: her success as a newspaperwoman; her role in providing support and guidance for women following in her path; and her unswerving dedication to the field she had chosen while still a teenager. Her heartfelt wish expressed to her mother in 1870 that she might someday find her niche and earn her living by her pen had been fulfilled, though not without struggle. As she told the girls who read her book on careers for women, newspaper work was a demanding and not always financially rewarding job; only the dedicated and talented would succeed.

Through her many articles and personal letters, the historian gets a sense especially of this dedication and determination. For although her career from 1870 to 1908 might appear smooth and inevitable to a casual observer, there were many difficult moments when she had to test her courage and conviction that newspaper work was the best place in the world for her. After her marriage she showed fortitude and ingenuity in convincing newspapers to use her work and making a name for herself before the New England public. Throughout the years she deflected criticism and hostility from male colleagues by doing her job and doing it well and insisting that women could do the job as well as men—always with considerable charm. Even after twenty-seven years in the business, the job did not get easier. When, in 1897, she was reduced to space rates by the *Herald*, she returned to the tactics she had used as a novice. She laid siege on the editor's office to get assignments, returning home empty-handed when he was out of town on business but always going back the next day. And when she did succeed in getting an assignment she was as jubilant as she had been at the age of twenty-three when she won her first assignment to cover the Vermont suffrage convention. She wrote her daughter, "I am going to have an article in Sunday's Herald—a column and a half!!!!"[77]

Although White's personal documents in the Schlesinger collection make few mentions of her commitment to other newspaper women, there are a few letters asking her to help a woman publish her work or find a job. These, as well as testimonials made in her honor over the years, indicate the esteem in which her contemporaries held her and the faith they had in her willingness to help.[78] This commitment is further illustrated by her consistent encouragement to girls to find their own path and prepare themselves for a future in which they would be satisfied and fulfilled. Finally, Sallie Joy White's commitment to *women* was expressed in her speaking engagements, her published books, and in her newspaper writing, whether through interviews with women who had the power to serve as role models or the rhetorical devices of the Penelope columns. This encouragement was certainly ex-

tended through her activities in the press organizations, in which she played a leadership role, as well as her women's clubs, where woman's advancement was the number one item on the agenda.

But for historians, Sallie Joy White is more than a pioneer and leader, for the details of her life provide us with a glimpse of what life must have been like for an average woman journalist during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is precisely because she was *not* a star like her better known contemporary, the daredevil Nellie Bly, that her life serves as a template we can use to identify certain common themes in the lives of the women who became journalists during this time.[79]

Like White, most were middle-class and relatively well educated. Like White, though many may have shared her driving ambition to make her way by using her pen, most were strongly motivated by the fact that writing was one of the few professions open to middle class women at the time. Marriage was another "option" for these women, but like many of her colleagues who did marry, White returned to journalism when marriage failed to sustain her, both financially and spiritually.[80]

Like White, most women journalists entered the field through the side and back doors of the profession as correspondents and contributors, rarely as full-fledged staff reporters. And they did so with very little help—indeed with a great deal of opposition—from the male institutions of the press and higher education. Ironically, those who succeeded did so because they were able to subvert societal expectations and use them to their advantage as White did, writing about women's issues in the society pages and commenting wryly on social conventions in their correspondences and columns. And like White, they discovered there was strength in unity. It was only when they began to organize their own press organizations that women journalists as a group found a sustaining community that gave them strength and recognition.

Endnotes

1Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1936), 1-2.

2As historian Susan Henry pointed out in 1976, early journalism historians typically excluded women journalists from their work. Susan Henry, "Colonial Woman Printer as Prototype: Toward a Model for the Study of Minorities, *Journalism History* 3 (1976): 20-24.

3"Gainful Workers 10 Years Old and Over." Table 1, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, Vol. V, General Report on Occupations* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), 20.

4Ross, *Ladies of thePress*, 2. Ross's breezy account of Sallie Joy Whites' career contains several inaccuracies. First, Ross spells her name incorrectly ("Sally" rather than "Sallie").

Second, White's first major assignment was to cover a suffrage convention in Vermont and later she wrote on a wide variety of subjects. Third, White did not retire from journalism upon marriage as Ross implies but returned to journalistic work within five years, supported herself and her two daughters on her earnings, and continued until her death in 1909.

5James D. Startt, "The Study of History: Interpretation or Truth?" in *Perspectives on Mass Communication History*, ed. Wm. David Sloan (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates, 1991), 18.

6Women continued in the struggle to establish their legitimacy in the profession well into the 1980s and even into the 1990s. See Maurine Beasley, "Newspapers: Is There a New majority Defining the News?" in *Women in Mass Communication*, 2nd ed., ed. Pamela J. Creedon (Teller Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1993), 118-133.

7Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 17, 22, 23, 25, 26. Ross had excelled by these standards and, before her retirement after fourteen years of active newspaper work at the New York *Tribune* in 1933, had covered some of the biggest newspaper stories of the day, such as the Lindbergh kidnapping and the Halls-Mills Murder trial. (Maurine Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (Washington, DC: American University Press, 1993), 131-32.)

8Evelyn Greenleaf Sutherland, "Women of the Press," Woman's Edition of the Boston *Post*, 11 February 1894, 24.

9"Mrs. White, Newswriter, Founder Boston Women's Press Club, Dies," Boston *Globe*, 26 March 1909, Sallie Joy White Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass. (hereafter SJW Papers), A126, box 1, folder 1.

10Startt, *Study of History*, 18.

11See for example: Marion Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote* (New York: Hastings House, 1977), 19-20; Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place*, 111. A profile of White actually preceded Ross's by eight years and she might have used this as her source. See Huldah M. Johnson, "Sally [*sic*] Joy White—the First Woman Reporter," *The Matrix* 13:3 (28 February 1928), 1, 6. White is mentioned in her role as an organizer of women's press clubs in: Elizabeth V. Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy: The Woman's Press Club Movement, 1880-1900," *Journalism History* 23:2 (Summer 1997), 75, and Elizabeth Burt, ed., *Women's Press Organizations, 1881-1999* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 153-54. Beyond these references, White is not included in any of the recent histories of women journalists and is only rarely mentioned in standard journalism histories. See, for example, George H. Douglas, *The Golden Age of the Newspapers* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 177.

12The collection, which is in the Schlesinger Library archives at Radcliffe College, although extensive, poses problems in that little of the material is dated. Several scrapbooks contain White's clippings, but these were all cut out and pasted down so that very often neither the name of the newspaper, the date of the article, nor the page number on which ir appeared are visible. Many articles cited in this paper, therefore, are identified only as "undated newspaper clipping," although the scrapbook in which each clipping is contained is identified by volume number. The author will attempt to identify these articles by date and

publication as well as whether a byline was used whenever possible. In addition, the author was able to identify many of White's articles in the Boston *Herald* by putting them into the context provided by her manuscript collection. As for letters in the collection, most of them were collected either by her mother, Rhoda Joy Hanson (hereafter RJH), or her younger daughter, Grace Elinor Joy White (hereafter GEJW). As for the organizational records of the New England Woman's Press Association, of which White was a founder and the first president, those of its first twenty-three years, from 1885-1908, were destroyed in the great Chelsea fire of 1908 (Myra B. Lord, *History of the New England Woman's Press Association* [Newton, Mass.: Graphic Press, 1932], 205).

13Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 2.

14Two of those who preceded her were Grace Greenwood and Fanny Fern.

15"Mrs. Sallie Joy White," *The Journalist*, 16 March 1889, 13; SJW Papers, A126, box 2, volume 1; various published articles, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, volume 1.

16"Mrs. Sallie Joy White," *The Journalist*, 16 March 1889, 13.

17Various clipped articles, including "Under the Maples," *Suburban News*, "Broken Hearted," *The Wide World*, and "A Woman's Work," Vermont *Record*, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, volume 1; SJW to RJH, February 9, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 5.

18Sarah Elizabeth Joy (hereafter SEJ) to RJH, January [1870], SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 5.

19SEJ to RJH, January [1870], SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 5. The first issue of the *Woman's Journal*, the publication of the American Woman Suffrage Association, was published 8 January 1870.

20For discussion of press coverage of the woman's movement, see: Elizabeth V. Burt, "Press Coverage of Woman Suffrage," chap. in "An Arena for Debate: Woman Suffrage, the Liquor Industry and the Press, Wisconsin, 1910-1919," (Ph.D. Diss, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1994), 388-429; Anne Messerly Cooper, "Suffrage as News: Ten Dailies' Coverage of the Nineteenth Amendment," *American Journalism 1* (Summer 1983), 75-91; Lauren Kessler, "The Ideas of Woman Suffrage and the Mainstream Press," *Oregon Historical Quarterly 84:3* (1983):257-75; Linda Steiner, Nineteenth Century Suffrage Periodicals: Conceptions of Womanhood and the Press," in *Ruthless Criticism: New Perspectives in U.S. Communication History*, ed. William S. Solomon and Robert W. McChesney (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 66-67.

21SEJ to RJH, January 30th, (1870), SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 5.

22SEJ to RJH, February 24, [1870], SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 5.

23"An Innovation for the Times," undated news clipping, April 1870, SJW Papers, A126, box 2, volume 2.

24"A Lady Reporter," undated newspaper clipping, SJW Papers, A126, box 2, volume 2.

25Undated clipping, SJW Papers, A126, box 2, volume 2.

26"Woman's Suffrage," Boston *Post*, 2 March 1870, SJW Papers, A126, box 2, volume 2.

27Undated articles, SJW Papers, A126, box 4, vol. 3 and box 5, volume 4; Account book, SJW Papers, A126, box 3, volume 14.

28"Backsliddin' Boston: The Puritan City and the Boston of Today," New York *World*, 9 Dec. 1870, SJW Papers, A126, box 2, volume 2.

29"North Street," 1871, "The Industrial School for Women," 9 May 1871, "North Street Mission," 1871, and "North End Mission Fair," 5 February 1872, all in Boston *Post*, SJW Papers, A126, box 5, volume 4; undated newspaper clipping, SJW Papers, A126, box 5, volume 4.

30"Miss Joy and 'Our Society,'" undated clipping, SJW papers, box 4, volume 3.

31Results of Election, Middlesex County Suffrage Association, SJW Papers, A126, box 2, volume 2.

32Undated news clippings, SJW Papers, A126, box 5, volume 4.

33"Artists' Guild," Boston *Times*, June 1880, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 2 "Biographical Essay," written by granddaughter Sallie P. Talbot, SJW Papers, M129, box 1, folder 1; Sallie Joy White (hereafter SJW) to GEJW, September 1891, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 9; SJW to GEJW, 8 May 1894, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 10; SJW to GEJW, 29 April 1896, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 11.

34"Fashions in Jewelry," Boston Daily *Advertiser*, 19 December 1874 and various undated clippings from Mrs. Sallie Joy White, "House and Home Papers," Detroit *Free Press*, SJW Papers, A126, box 4, volume 3; Sallie Joy White, "Weighing the Girls in Our Public Schools," in column "Woman's Kingdom," Boston Sunday *Times*, n.d., SJW Papers, A126, box 5, volume 4.

35Various articles, SJW Papers, A126, box 5, volume 4.

36Volume: Letters of Correspondence for 1878-1879, SJW Papers, A126, box 2, volume 6.

37Lord, 12.

38These articles will be discussed below.

39Between 1885 and 1887, for example, she wrote a series of articles on a lecture series given by historian John Fiske. In order to satisfy the demanding lecturer, who wanted to see the proofs of her articles before they were published, she interviewed him, read his lectures,

read his lecture abstracts and attended his lectures before writing each article (John Fiske to SJW, 4 January 1885 and 10 November 1887, SJW Papers, A126, box 1 folder 14; "The Idea of God," Boston *Herald*, 22, November 1885, 18; "New Orleans to Stone River: The Second Lecture in Mr. Fiske's Civil War Series," Boston *Herald* 25 November 1885, 8; The Siege of Vicksburg: The Overthrow of Gibraltar," Boston *Herald*, 2 December 1885, 3).

40In 1880, just 288 women—less than three percent of all working journalists—were identified as full-time journalists by the U.S. census. Perhaps three times that number were working as part-time correspondents and contributors (Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place*, 10; Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy," 73).

41For discussion of the concept of the woman's sphere, see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-74.

42Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 1-2.

43S. D. Fry, "Newspaper Women," *Philadelphia Herald*, n.d., quoted in "Newspaper Women," *Journalist*, 19 November 1892, 10.

44Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Places*, 10; Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy," 73; H. S. Becker, *Outsiders* (New York: Free Press, 1963).

45Marion A. McBride, "Report to the 1890 Convention of the National Editorial Association," *Journalist*, 5 July 1890, 12; Lord, *History of NEWPA*, 51. The Woman's National Press Association changed its name to the Woman's International Press Association in 1887.

46The first women's clubs were organized in the late 1860s and grew to have a national membership of more than one million by 1890, when the General Federation of Women's Clubs was formed. For discussion of the woman's club movement, see: Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1869-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980) and Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1975), 182-196.

47Lord, *History of NEWPA*, 12-18; "New England Woman's Press Association," *Journalist*, 26 January 1889, 7. The other four were Estelle M. Hatch (who wrote under the pen name Jean Kincaid), Cora Stuart Wheeler, Helen M. Winslow (who often used the pen name Trebor Ohl), and Grace Weld Soper.

48"Woman Suffrage—Convention in Cambridge," undated clipping, SJW Papers, A126, box 2, volume 2; various obituaries of SJW, SJW Papers, A126, box, folder 1.

49Lord, *History of NEWPA*, 1-209, passim.

50"Boston," *Journalist*, 13 October 1888, 4; "The Club Women," *Fourth Estate*, 10 December 1898, 5.

51Lord, *History of NEWPA*, 105; Sutherland, "Women of the Press," 24.

52Charles W. Price to SJW, 20 January 1892, SJW Papers, box 1, folder 27; Lord, *History of NEWPA*, 58-59.

53Lord, *History of NEWPA*, 65; SJW to GEJW, 21 May 1893, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 10.

54Margherita Arlina Hamm, "Among the Newspaper Women," *Journalist*, 30 April 1892, 6.

55"Canada's National Park," 24 August 1891, "Across the Puget Sound," 1 September 1891, "Over the Great Divide," 27 September 1891; "Beautiful Portland," 20 December 1891, "Saving the Children: Growth of San Francisco's Free Kindergartens," 2 April 1892, all signed Sallie Joy White, SJW Papers, M129, box 1, folder 3.

56Quoted in Di Vernon, "What is a Newspaper Woman?" *Journalist*, 15 September 1891, 7.

57"International League of Press Clubs," *Journalist*, 15, 1893, 12; Program for International League of Press Clubs Dinner, St. Paul, Minnesota, 19 May 1893, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 29; SJW to GEJW, 21 May 1893, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 10; "Columbia Exposition: Chicago and the World's Fair, Women at the Fair," Boston *Herald*, 30 April, 1893, 8.

58"Milwaukee Convention," *The Club Woman*, July 1900, 145.

59Sallie Joy White, *Housekeepers and Homemakers* (Boston: Jordan Marsh and Co., 1888); Frances E. Willard, assisted by Helen M. Winslow and Sallie Joy White, *Occupations for Women: A Book of Practical Suggestions for the Material Advancement, the Mental and Physical Development, and the Moral and Spiritual Uplift of Women* (New York: Success Company, 1897); Sallie Joy White, *Business Openings for Girls* (New York: The Werner Company, 1899). She also published "Letter to American Girls," in George James Bayles' *American Women's Legal Status* (New York: Collier, 1905).

60White, "Newspaper Women," 283-91.

61White, "Newspaper Women," 91.

62Nellie Bly of Pulitzer's New York *World* is the prime example of a woman writer who used this technique, but it was widely imitated by others, including Zona Gale, who wrote for the *World* between 1900 and 1902. These writers took an active part in the stories they reported, and sometimes their exploits became the story, as in the case of Bly's trip around the world in 1889. The result was that these women not only had a byline at a time when few bylines were used, but also frequently saw their names featured in headlines. They had huge fan clubs and were credited with increasing their newspapers' circulation. See: Brooke Kroeger, *Nellie Bly: Daredevil, Reporter, Feminist* (NY Random House, 1994); Elizabeth V. Burt, "Rediscovering Zona Gale, Journalist," *American Journalism* 12:4 (Fall 1995), 444-461.

63"The Working Girls," Boston Sunday *Herald*, 3 January 1885, SJW Papers, M129, box 1, folder 2.

64"The Shoe Girls of Lynn, " Boston Sunday *Herald*, 22 July 1888, SJW Papers, M129, box 1, folder 2; "The Working Girls: The Girls in the Stores, How They Live, and Where," Boston *Herald*, 20 December 1885, 8; "Women on Newspapers: Popular Impression is Wrong—One of Best Professions, Which Opens Possibilities, But Requires Exceptional Qualities," Boston *Herald*, 1899, SJW Papers, M146, box 1, folder 4; "Women in Medicine: Dr. Emily Blackwell Tells How One was First Admitted," Boston *Herald*, 1 February 1891, SJW Papers, M129, box 1, folder 3; "Work of Women Pastors," Boston *Herald*, 14 September 1897, SJW Papers, M129, box 1, folder 4.

65"Among Working Women: The Young Women's Christian Association, and What it Does," Boston *Herald*, 3 November 1885, 8; "Boston's Working Girls: How They Make Home Life for themselves and each other," Boston Sunday *Herald*, 4 July 1897, SJW Papers, M146, box 1 folder 4.

66"Greatest Drawback for Women Lawyers: Men Who Treat Them as Mere Women and Not Practitioners," Boston Sunday *Herald*, November 1902; "Nervous Prostration the Foe of Woman: Due to New Conditions Which Make More Demands on Her and Less Upon Man," Boston *Herald*, 5 April 1902, both in SJW Papers, M129, box 1, folder 4.

67"Mme Greville Dined: Reception by the New England Women's [*sic*] Club," Boston Sunday *Herald*, 2 December 1885; "Mme. Henri Greville: An Interview With the Distinguished Novelist," Boston *Herald*, 19 November 1885, 5.

68SJW to GEJW, 15 March 1897, 18 March 1897, 21 June 1897, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folders 12 and 13. "Space rates" referring to the practice of paying the writer by each inch published rather than a set fee or salary. Trade publications wrote frequently about the plight of space writers and during the 1890s often wrote of the overcrowded field and shortage of jobs. See, for example, "The Field of Newspaper Work is Crowded," *The Fourth Estate*, 1 July 1897, 7. In December 1898, the financial crisis continued, especially for women. In New York for example, *The Fourth* Estate pointed out that fewer women were employed on New York newspapers than had been three years earlier. See "Fewer Women are Now Employed," *Fourth Estate*, 29 December 1898, 24.

69By 1890, the Boston *Herald* had begun to solicit women readers in an attempt to boost circulation. In 1894, it started running an illustrated advertisement on its editorial page that claimed it was widely read by women because it provided them the kind of information they wanted in a newspaper. And it gradually adapted its content and layout to accommodate those interests. During that decade, for example, the *Herald* began publishing syndicated women's columns, such as Max Eliot's (Anna Mai Ellis) "Chats About Folks" and M. E. W.'s column on women's interests. In 1893, the *Herald* started publishing a weekly column, "Among the Women," which soon became "Among the Women's Clubs." The *Herald* did not label its women's pages until 1904, when it introduced its "Editorial and Women's Section." This became the "Women's Section" later that year (Boston *Herald*, 1885-1909, passim.)

70This author has not discovered how this ludicrous name was chosen. It may have contributed to historians' failure to take White seriously.

71This rhetorical device stages a confrontation between two antagonists who hold opposing points of view and allows the author's view to prevail through persuasion, logic, and evidence (Shelley Fisher Fishkin and Carla L. Peterson, "'We Hold These Truths to be Self-Evident': The Rhetoric of Frederick Douglass's Journalism," in *New Literary and History Essays*, ed. Eric J. Sundquist and Fred Doug (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 191.

72Penelope Penfeather, "As Penelope Sees It," Boston *Herald*, 6 February 1905, SJW Papers, M129, box 1, folder 6.

73Penelope Penfeather, "As Penelope Sees It," Boston *Herald*, February 1905–May 1907, passim, SJW Papers, M129, box 1-2, folders 6 - 10.

74Penelope Penfeather, "As Penelope Sees It," Boston *Herald*, 23 January 1905, SJW Papers, box 1, folder 5.

75Boston *Herald*, January 1905-September 1906, passim. The author could find no explanation as to why the *Herald* dropped the Sunday column.

76Various clippings, Sallie Joy White Papers, M129, box 2, folders 9-10. Here, also, the author found no explanation as to why White left the *Herald*. It was common, however, for journalists to change newspapers frequently and her twenty-one-year tenure with the *Herald* was unusual.

77SJW to GEJW, 15 March 1897, 18 March 1897, 21 June 1897, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folders 12 and 13.

78See for example, Lucy Stone to SJW, n.d., SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 21; Mary E. Blake to SJW, 20 April 1890, SJW Papers, A126, box 1, folder 15. The bulk of the correspondence in the Schlesinger collection consists of White's letters to her mother before 1872 and letters to her daughters. The collection unfortunately contains hardly any correspondence with colleagues or other writers.

79See Brooke Kroeger, *Nellie Bly: Daredevil, Reporter, Feminist* (NY: Times Books), 1994.

80See, for example studies of the lives of Fanny Fern and Jane Cunningham Croly ("Jennie June") in Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place.*

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Open-Ended Oratory: Fanny Fern's Use of the Periodical as a Rhetorical Platform

by Elizabethada A. Wright

Recent scholarship has shown how many 19th-century women used writing as a means to engage in socially acceptable public discourse. Though most of this research has focused on book authorship, some scholars suggest periodical writing provided women with an even more potent form of public discourse because it was open-ended, allowing women to write much that they could not in other mediums. Fanny Fern was a newspaper columnist who was particularly adept at using the periodical's open-ended nature to write what fit within the norms of appropriate women's discourse while simultaneously turning the norm. A close examination of her work reveals some of the potency of the periodical, especially for marginalized peoples otherwise excluded from forms of public discourse.

Recently, there has been a growing realization of the importance of the nineteenth-century periodical as a genre. One very important work, *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, presents several important essays considering the nature of this genre and in its introduction notes how neglected this very important field is.[1] In their introduction to a collection of essays considering American periodicals, Kenneth Price and Susan Belasco Smith make similar observations, commenting on the fact that most notable authors of the nineteenth century contributed to periodicals at some time during their careers.[2]

A Voice of Their Own, a much overlooked collection of essays considering periodicals published by woman suffrage presses, argues that study of the periodical is essential for another reason: the medium helped the women's

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suffrage movement in ways that have not been fully considered.[3] With nineteenth-century women largely prohibited from speaking in public because the dictates for platform oratory violated what was acceptable for women, those women who did participate in platform oratory were deemed unfeminine because they "unsexed" themselves speaking before "promiscuous"—or mixed sex—audiences. The periodical, however, provided women with an alternative means to engage in public debate. In addition, this medium reached out to women in ways that platform orators could never imagine.

This article continues the investigation of women's use of periodicals to advance the feminist cause, considering the newspaper articles and rhetoric of Fanny Fern, a woman who wrote for several Boston newspapers before her tenure of seventeen years with the popular *New York Ledger*. It focuses on Fern's use of the periodical not only because of her long career and her discussions within periodicals of women's issues, but because she was able to reach out to women, and men, in the mainstream and discuss these radical issues while maintaining vast public support, subtly moving these conservative audiences to consider radical ideas.

The article argues that part of the reason for Fern's success is that she exploited the periodical's periodicity, its lack of stability and permanence, and the medium's connections with femininity. Because the periodical is everchanging and a kind of hypertext, authors frequently have trouble with audiences misinterpreting their intentions. Fern's work, however, confuses its intentions so that audiences are forced to make their own meaning out of Fern's words. As a result, audiences of all types and with all ideologies found something to identify with and enjoy in Fern's work. However, by moving people to consider subjects they would normally reject, Fern used the periodical to subtly shift the public acceptance of mainstream discussion of radical ideas.

In the first of this article's three sections, recent scholarship on ways women used novel and periodical writing to join public discourse is discussed. Additionally, this section expands the critical work that considers the periodical an especially "feminine" medium. The second part of the article introduces Fanny Fern and briefly illustrates how her writing illustrates the empowering literate strategies used by many nineteenth-century women. The third section develops this article's thesis, showing how Fern used the periodical and its "feminine" nature to write what fit within the norms of appropriate women's discourse while simultaneously turning the norm.

Limitations on Women's Oratory

The extensive work of Karlyn Kohrs Campbell illustrates the many limitations on women's oratory. Facing a conflict between the requirements of a good speaker and a good woman, a good woman speaking well has been a "violation of the female role" because the "qualities associated with successful rhetorical action—cogent argument, expertise, and skill in rebuttal—are qualities associated with masculinity."[4] Though these limitations exist even today, Campbell argues women orators in early America faced an especially difficult "double-bind": if they were true to nineteenth-century norms of womanhood, they could not speak forcefully; if they spoke forcefully, they could not be true to womanhood.[5] Despite difficulties, many women did speak, but their success was extremely limited because they had to put so much effort into legitimizing their speaking—and because of the hostility they faced.

Nineteenth-century history is full of examples of the hostility and special problems women orators faced. For example, one of the first female orators in America, Frances Wright, faced such incredible condemnation that the term "Fanny Wrightist" became one of the most heinous insults a woman could receive. Even a more moderate speaker such as Angelina Grimke was condemned for her "unnatural character" and told she threatened the "status of women."[6] Susan B. Anthony, whose politics lay somewhere between the two, continually faced jeering, stoning, and ridicule during her attempts to speak from the platform.

Writing As A Socially Acceptable Rhetoric

Because, understandably, many women were afraid of facing this public reaction, and because this public reaction limited their rhetorical success, these women found writing allowed them to communicate with the public in a socially acceptable manner. Much scholarship of the past thirty years has explored ways and reasons women could create socially acceptable public discourse via writing.[7] For one thing, as these scholars have observed, writing was perceived as a private act, something women could and did do in their homes. Writing was also perceived as closer to conversation or storytelling than was public oratory, and therefore, because women were seen as skilled in these areas, writing was socially acceptable for women. Such talking on paper, or storytelling, was extremely empowering to women. Instead of creating an argument invoking the qualities associated with masculinity (cogent argument, expertise, and skill in rebuttal), a woman could

sway her audience with a story. Harriet Beecher Stowe notes the power of this "feminine" strategy when a character in one of her novels comments,

> It is now understood that whoever wishes to gain the public ear, and to propound a new theory, must do it in a serial story. . . .We have prison discipline, free-trade, labor and capital, women's rights, the temperance . . . in serial stories. . . .In our modern days . . . it is not so much the story, as the things it gives the author a chance to say.[8]

Though most twentieth-century scholarship on women's empowering writing focuses on book production, the periodical was also a medium that allowed women to deliver their potentially powerful messages. Like books, periodicals seemed private, presenting themselves as fully domestic with such elements as sewing patterns, fashion plates and advice on setting tables. There were many reasons periodical writing was even more acceptable for women than was writing for other genres. For one thing, from its origins the periodical was marketed to women.[9] With white middle-class women's increasing leisure and literacy, the periodical provided a means of controlling women, prescribing norms while at the same time creating a market for enterprising publishers.

An early element of the periodical, contained in almost all periodicals for women, was a section with letters from female readers. While some of these published letters were actually composed by male editors, who created the letters is irrelevant. What is relevant is that this element of the medium, in existence from the medium's origins, helped create social perceptions encouraging women to write for periodicals.[10] Shaped as conversation between reader and writer, these letters provided a conversational model for other works by women in the periodical. [11] For example, Harriet Beecher Stowe used this model to create dialogue with her readers in the *National Era*'s serial version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* literally—as her readers wrote letters to the editor of *National Era* commenting on the serial novel's action and structure—and figuratively—modeling much of her prose on conversation across a kitchen table.[12]

In her analysis of Stowe's serial version of the famous novel, Susan Belasco Smith argues that part of its success results from the polyphonic nature of the periodical, with numerous voices "compet[ing] for attention on the pages of the newspaper," and "exemplify[ing] the diversity of language itself." Smith argues that these many voices subliminally link, allowing for the subtle subversion of dominant ideologies.[13]

The Periodical as Open-Ended and Feminine

Margaret Beetham's recent analysis of the genre of the periodical makes similar observations about the periodical's nature, though she does not imply—as does Smith—that a single unifying message or ideology can be relayed easily to the readers. Beetham argues that the medium is "open-ended" and "feminine" because it resists a single authoritative reading. Beetham illustrates that, unlike many other forms of texts that "clos[e] off alternative options and offer the reader or viewer only one way of making sense of the text," the periodical offers many ways to make sense of its text. The periodical is a kind of early hypertext, rarely—if ever—read linearly, and therefore it—like other forms of the hypertext—allows its reader to actively construct the text's narrative.[14]

As Beetham notes, another way the periodical allows its audience to make their own sense of the text is by mixing one author's text in with many other texts. Because of this framework, the context of an article is not stable, and the changing context alters the article's meaning.[15] While this framework may have been disconcerting to many male periodical writers (for example, Robert Browning objected to the placement of his work in periodicals, complaining: "I don't like being sandwiched between Politics and Deer-stalking"), it helped American women delegitimize their works' importance and therefore paradoxically legitimized their work.[16] For example, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton's radical periodical, *The Revolution,* mixed its logical arguments for suffrage with prose and poetry by such "sentimental" authors as Phoebe and Alice Cary.

Yet another element contributing to the open-endedness of the periodical is the questionable authorship of most articles within periodicals. A large percentage of articles, especially in magazines for women, were written anonymously or under pseudonyms. Just as importantly, even authors who signed their name to their work often had their work significantly altered by editors or publishers so readers could never be sure what a writer did or did not write. This questionable authorship created considerable freedom for periodical writers, female and male. As John Stuart Mill commented regarding these freedoms: "a newspaper-writer nobody knows; nobody thinks about him, or inquires who he is; nobody remembers to-day what he wrote yesterday. He can afford to praise a ministry up to the last moment, and then turn round upon them."[17] The obvious paradoxical element is that because "nobody thinks" about the newspaper writer or "remembers to-day what he wrote yesterday," women could become newspaper writers and write much that many people would think about and remember.

Equally paradoxical and paradoxically empowering to women, the text printed permanently on the periodical's paper seemed ephemeral. As

Beetham observes, the periodical continually announces its changing nature with its printed date, letting audiences know what is news today is "rubbish tomorrow" and because the periodical was rubbish tomorrow, it was unimportant enough to be a medium that could accept women's contributions.[18] Thus, the impermanent periodical became a place for these women to create a community that could be permanently saved in an attic or a means for women to make permanent the transitory lectures and discussions from blossoming women's meetings.[19]

With the unusual nature of this shifting literate medium, Beetham's labeling of the open-ended periodical as "feminine" seems appropriate especially considering nineteenth-century norms of femininity that echo Beetham's description of the periodical: non-linear, private, non-authoritative, and ever-changing. And as a feminine medium, the periodical was a medium in which women could participate appropriately. While many writers used writing in this feminine medium to replace podium to communicate to large groups, to create community, to inspire them, and to give them arguments to use regarding various issues of concern to women, Fanny Fern is unique in how she used the changing nature of the periodical to legitimize her work.

Fanny Fern

Fanny Fern was the pen name for Sara Willis Eldredge Farrington Parton, a woman born in 1811 who was enormously popular, achieved great financial success from her writing, and had enormous influence on her readers. Her personal story was known to most of her readers from her semi-autobiographical novel, *Ruth Hall.* Thrice married, Fern was the mother of three children, one of whom died in childhood. In her work, Fern stressed her widowhood from her first marriage, never discussing her divorce from the second, and she always showed her connection with mothers, especially those who had also lost a child. Fern's work also emphasized the fact that Fern had faced numerous difficulties before she achieved her literary success; Fern frequently wrote of her struggles to survive as a single mother who earned a pittance as a seamstress and who had to resist almost losing her children because of her poverty, challenges to her feminine honor, and society's hypocrisy. Immediately after she started writing a column for two Boston newspapers, she became enormously successful, writing several books in addition to her columns. In 1855 she began writing for the *New York Ledger,* receiving the well-publicized and previously-unheard-of salary of $100 per column.

The Contradictions of Fanny Fern

It certainly was unusual for a twentieth-century woman (or a man, for that matter) to be paid that much, to be married three times, or to discuss her poverty. Then again, much about Fern was uncommon, and this uncommonness caused much disagreement about her and her work, a disagreement that continues today. Within her work, Fern presented herself, and was perceived as, a woman with opposite character traits: she was womanly and unwomanly, she was moral and disgustingly immoral. Fern comments on these differing perceptions: readers see her with "black hair . . . instead of light," as "wear[ing] a black stocking on one foot and a white one on the other," as "married to [her editor] Mr. Bonner"" and as "a six-foot grenadier, or a symmetrical pocket edition of womanhood."[20]

However, Fern was far from a suffering victim of misperception; she added to the muddle by continually contradicting her own descriptions of her appearance. For example Fern sometimes describes herself as fully feminine and non-threatening: "I belong to no Woman's Rights Convention, if that be a crime in your eyes. I'm just a merry little woman, four feet in stature, who would much rather love than hate everything and everybody in this lovely world"; sometimes she describes herself as shrew-like: ". . . don't think, because I am a literary woman, that I live on violets and dew—I don't. I wear awful thick shoes, and go out in the mud and like to get stuck there; and I am horrid old—56—and ugly besides."[21] Fern also worked to confuse her newspaper column's meaning. One *Ledger* column clearly illustrates this confusion when Fern comments that Adam must have been "tame and stupid, else Eve never would have flirted with the serpent." Then she stops herself, saying, "I don't know why I made that remark." She then chastises her audience for expecting consistency from her. "I wish you would not keep catching me up so on everything I say, as if I need weigh every word before I put it down. If there is anything I hate, it is writing that way."[22] In another column, quoted here from a reprinted collection of her columns, Fern berates nurses for their unattractive appearance and gain from others' sicknesses. In the middle of this lengthy chastisement, Fern comments that her article is "ill-natured" but excuses herself because "the handle [was] broken off a lovely porcelain 'gift cup' this morning" and because it is "raining cats and dogs" and she must go out.[23]

Convention as Legitimatization

Despite these confusions, the overriding perception of Fern during the nineteenth century was maternal, Christian, and feminine. Her contempo-

rary Mary Clemmer, while acknowledging that Fern was sometimes perceived as masculine, bitter, and irreverent, tells of the *real* Fern who was a true Godly and maternal woman and who always "loved the religion of Jesus Christ, and loved little children."[24] This perception was essential to Fern because it legitimized her work. A majority of Fern's *Ledger* columns perpetuate this Godly maternal image. For example, in an article addressed to a child who has lost a sibling, Fern says:

> I don't know whether my little child is a child now; I can't tell. I clasp her often in my dreams, but sure I am God never gave me such a yearning for her, to mock me at last. Sure I am, that you and your mother will again see little Charley.[25]

With this passage, Fern illustrates many of the conventional means of making women's writing acceptable. Presenting herself as a mother who understands God's mysterious ways, Fern comforts a child with faith and acts the true woman. She also clearly indicates that her words about God's purpose are not part of a didactic sermon, but a conversation that the *Ledger* readers overhear.

Fern used the strategy of text as conversational narrative to legitimize more radical discussions. For example, Fern begins as conversation one argument that takes the conventional and conservative view on a very unfeminine topic, free love:

> One lovely afternoon of last week I determined to try the drive by the "new Hudson River road to Fort Lee," which by the way, I rapturously commend, en passant, to every New Yorker, and stranger within our gates who is fond of beautiful scenery. On the way we alighted, and entered one of the numerous rural gardens, to enjoy from thence a fine view of the river.[26]

After recommending this drive and describing the sights, Fern tells of seeing a "tawdry" woman, a victim of free love. Adding a twist to the standard argument, Fern moves on to condemn free love but blames not so much the woman but male proponents of free love for this social ill:

> I would have summoned there, those men of position in the community, who sit in their carpeted, well-stocked libraries, and in full view of their household gods—within the sound of innocent prattle of their own children—by their own yet undesecrated hearthstones—write fine-spun theories upon Free-Love.

After her narration and evocation of her own maternity, Fern is safe in arguing on subjects usually outside the boundaries of women's topics, and she is safe in condemning established men.

The Unconventional Becomes Legitimate

Fern similarly legitimizes a more radical argument by beginning it with a dialogue with her reader. In an article discussing the merits of women wearing men's clothing, Fern begins: "Here I have been sitting twiddling the morning paper between my fingers this half hour, reflecting upon the following paragraph in it: 'Emma Wilson was arrested yesterday for wearing man's apparel.'"[27] This chatty introduction then evolves into a defense of Emma Wilson and an argument for all women's right to wear men's apparel, but Fern constructs this defense and argument as a story she tells to her friends:

> One evening, after a long day of scribbling, when my nerves were in double-twisted knots, and I felt as if myriads of little ants were leisurely traveling over me, and all for want of the walk which is my daily salvation, I stood at the window, looked at the slanting, persistent rain, and took my resolve. "*I'll do it,*" said I, audibly, planting my slipper upon the carpet.

With her storytelling, her humor evoking images of ants leisurely strolling along her arms, and her childish tantrum that calls attention to her feminine slipper, Fern's readers are not shocked when they realize what Fern will do is go for a walk outside wearing men's clothing. Such an unfeminine act from such a feminine woman must be mere whim. And Fern's storytelling, dialogue, and word choice affirm her act's whimsicality and her argument's consequential acceptability. Fern continues:

> "Do what?' asked Mr. Fern. "Put on a suit of your clothes and take a tramp with you," was the answer. "You dare not," was the rejoinder; "you are a little coward, only saucy on paper." It was the work of a moment, with such a challenge, to fly up stairs and overhaul my philosopher's wardrobe. Of course we had fun. . . . I struggled into a pair of [tailors'] handiwork, undeterred by the vociferous laughter of a wretch who had solemnly vowed to "cherish me" through all my tribulations. "What am I to do with my hair?" Still no reply from Mr. Fern, who lay on the floor, faintly ejaculating, between his fits of laughter, "Oh, my! by Jove!—oh! by Jupiter!"

Fern's word choice adds to the humor and legitimization of Fern's feminist act. With her femininity so clearly established, this word "tramp" is incongruous with the woman. Fern's dressing in men's clothing is an "overhaul," suggesting that Fern is so completely feminine that for her to wear pants she must entirely rework herself. Mr. Fern's laughter is not any ordinary laughter; it is wild and "vociferous." He is not angry at her, as he would probably be if she were a radical feminist advocating Bloomerism. Instead, he is doubled up with laughter on the floor at such an unexpected sight.

A True Woman?

Mr. Fern's presence in this passage is extremely important because it also affirms Fern's femininity. As she tells of Mr. Fern's laughter, Fern reminds the reader that he is one who "solemnly vowed" to "cherish [Fern]." Just as he is not really violating his vow with his laughter, neither is Fern violating her vow in her male apparel. Although she is dressed in men's clothing, she is still a woman who relies on her husband. Mr. Fern knows her true nature and knows that she is really a coward, "only saucy on paper"; therefore, Fern's reader knows although this act might seem radical, Fern's actions are not as serious as she presents them. In addition, Mr. Fern's presence allows Fern to show her radical act is really the "work of a moment," initiated by a challenge from her husband who cannot believe such a true woman would go on such a "tramp."

Fern also reassures the reader that she knows this act is uncharacteristic of her because she can't lose her feminine habits. Fern states that as she and Mr. Fern walk she keeps forgetting her role as a man and taking Mr. Fern's arm. They both forget her role when Mr. Fern helps her over puddles, and they both double over at the irony of feminine Fern as man:

> "[Y]ou must not take my arm; you are a fellow." "True," said I, "I forgot; and you must not help me over the puddles, as you did just now, and do, for mercy's sake, stop laughing. There, there goes your hat—I mean my hat; confound the wind!"

Fern's confusion and Mr. Fern's laughter assure the readers that Fern is not a radical cross-dresser but a woman acting on a whim under the approving, protective gaze of her husband. Nevertheless, mixed in with this confusion and laughter is Fern's point that women should be able to wear clothing that will not inhibit them. Using her femininity to stress and legitimize this point in her article's conclusion, Fern appeals to God and society's desire to save woman and femininity: "I've a good a right to preserve the healthy body God gave me, as if I were not a woman."

With this last phrase, however, Fern undermines her femininity by allowing for the hypothetical possibility of new non-womanness. Fern thus uses this phrase to hint at the fluctuation of masculinity and femininity, an idea she subtly develops in her following week's column as her work's ephemeral nature enhances the rhetorical possibilities created by the periodical's own open-endedness.

Confusing Convention

The next week the *Ledger* published Part Two of this article in which Fern literally affirms her femininity: "After all, having tried it, I affirm, that nothing reconciles a woman quicker to her femininity, than an experiment in male apparel . . . ."[28] However, this affirmation of femininity does not last long; within the same sentence, Fern puts forth the unfeminine assertion that women should be able to wear men's clothes: "although I still maintain that she should not be forbidden by law to adopt it when necessity requires." Unlike the article of the week before, this article does not take Fern's possibility for masculinity as a hypothetical condition; instead, Fern alternates throughout this article's opening paragraph between presenting herself as a masculine and feminine persona. For example, in the column's next sentence, Fern reaffirms her femininity: "Take it all in though, I thank the gods I am a woman. I would rather be loved than make love . . . ." Then she challenges her femininity: "I want to climb and wade, and tramp about, without giving a thought to my clothes." Next she conforms to femininity's ideals: "I hate a Bloomer, such as we have seen—words are too weak to say how much; I hate myself as much in a man's dress;" following which she violates those feminine ideals: "and yet I want to run my fingers through my cropped hair some fine morning without the bore of dressing it; put on some sort of loose blouse affair—." The sentence continues with a feminine Fern: "it must be pretty though—" and then a masculine Fern: "and a pair of Turkish trousers—," but she also assures us she's not a supporter of Bloomerism: "not Bloomers—," but she does want a man's hat : "and a cap, or hat—" and so on.

With this feminine fickleness, Fern is able to challenge traditional notions of the feminine with humor and irony. However, her challenges to femininity can be dismissed because she seems to be joking, not challenging femininity in earnest. While Fern's contradictions are exceptionally clear in the above passage, contradictions are not at all exceptional in Fern's work. Instead, they run throughout it. Sometimes referring to her feminine fickleness, Fern invokes the norm of woman as inconsistent to say whatever she wants to say; then she reassures her readers she might not have meant what

she said. The difficulty with and power of this humorous irony is that a reader cannot be sure what Fern's message is: is she arguing that women should wear men's dress or is she mocking those who attempt such an unfeminine act? Is she doing both? Can we know what Fern's intentions were?

The Complexities of Irony

This question and the difficulty of determining Fern's meaning reveal that evaluating humor and irony, especially within the periodical, is a much more complex task than it might initially seem. Though irony might at first glance seem a relatively simple rhetorical device, "expressing a meaning directly opposite that intended,"[29] it is very complex and relies on the audience's understanding of the rhetor. According to Wayne Booth, rhetors can attempt to help their audiences take irony in the intended opposite sense through the use of "ironic invitations" that can take various forms: variations of style, conflicts with known facts or with the facts provided by the author within a work, or conflicts with the author's set of beliefs. Nevertheless, these ironic invitations are always some kind of "nudges of the elbow and winks of the eye."[30]

However, these "nudges" and "winks" can be far from reliable. Audiences who hear such ironic invitations prefacing texts that support the audiences' values will tend to overlook the invitations because "[e]very reader will have the greatest difficulty detecting irony that mocks his own beliefs and characteristics." One way to negotiate around these potential problems with irony is to look for "an unmistakable conflict between the beliefs expressed and the beliefs we hold *and suspect the author of holding.*" In other words, what is considered to be the most reliable ironic invitation depends "on a proper use of knowledge or inference about the author and his surroundings."[31]

Fern's Use of Irony in the Periodical

In Fern's case, her continual confusions of identity and meaning do not allow for this "proper use of knowledge . . . about the author"; her texts thus become disruptive and open to varied interpretations. In addition, her texts' location within a periodical raises doubt as to their exact authorship and their editor's involvement. The texts also illustrate how the context of a periodical article can influence the texts' meanings. For example, in Joyce Warren's excellent biography of Fern that argues for Fern's explicit feminist stance, Warren states that when Fern wrote a review praising Walt Whitman's

Leaves of Grass, her editor at the *Ledger*, Robert Bonner, placed one of her sentimental columns next to the review to "subtly qualif[y]" it and "demonstrat[e] that Fanny Fern was not 'unwomanly'" despite her praise of Whitman's work.[32] The question of the truth of Warren's claim or of Bonner's motives in placing the sentimental column where he did is not the issue here. Instead, Warren's comment illustrates the impact of the periodical's open-endedness in several ways. First, Warren's attribution of Fern's sentimentality to Bonner illustrates how the periodical's questioning of exact authorship and editorial involvement allows a reader to interpret a writers' intentions in ways consistent with the reader's desired interpretation of an author. Second, this comment illustrates how the placement of one article next to another can influence how audiences interpret both articles.

Because of this confusion created by the open-endedness of the periodical and Fern's capitalization of this open-endedness with her conflicting stances, Fern could say more about feminist issues than could most of her contemporaries without receiving condemnation. If anyone jumps to condemn her, she can claim—as she frequently does—that her meaning has been misinterpreted or the periodical misprinted her words. For example, in her column "Careless Readers," Fern argues that some of her prior columns' intended purposes have been misunderstood, and in this column she wants to make her intentions clear.[33] Fern attempts this clarification by stating that she made the misinterpreted comment in jest. Fern tells her readers that when she wrote that she "never could bring [her]self to accept [Queen Victoria's] oft-repeated and urgent invitations to make . . . a visit in Windsor Castle," her British readers took this "jocose remark in dead earnest." Thus, Fern implies she makes statements that readers are not to take literally. Following Fern's logic, her readers must realize that this column too may be ironic. Though the column may try to set the record straight, its jokes may be ironic invitations, and the readers' task is to determine which words reflect Fern's literal meaning and which do not. With such a claim and such a task given to her audience, Fern can state anything. If she is chastised for her words, she can claim she "sometimes makes woeful failures," but she can also ask, as she also does in this column, "is it *you* [that makes the failures], my readers?"

The Power of Mercurial Positioning

Fern, thus, does not fail with her clarity. Instead, she jokes, and her readers fail with their interpretations. At the conclusion of "Careless Readers," Fern seems to test her readers to see if they understand their interpretive task, giving the audience an ironic and caustic comment to interpret: "I

thought I had heard before of persons who 'couldn't take a joke;' but it remained for English people to furnish these brilliant specimens." Fern knows her audience can read this comment many ways, but she escapes continual criticism for all potentially inappropriate comments because she, as a fickle women who cannot be clearly identified, can be read almost any way.

Fern's mercurial positioning is especially powerful in her articles concerning the status of women because, with her inconsistency established, Fern is able to plant seeds of feminism where the soil is fertile for such feminism yet avoid harsh criticism from audiences not ready for feminism. With her many humorous and ironic comments, Fern does not make clear whether she means these feminist arguments to be taken literally or to be interpreted negatively, nor is it clear what a negative interpretation might be. While many late-twentieth-century critics see these arguments and take them at face value, such interpretations overlook the richness of Fern's strategy.

The Irony of Covert Advice in the Periodical

For example in "A Little Bunker Hill,"[34] a column often cited by twentieth-century critics as illustrating Fern's feminist agenda, there is much to suggest that Fern's call for women's action should not be taken literally.[35] Fern begins this article on how women can gain their rights by telling her reader to "put your ear down, a little nearer," suggesting a women's conspiracy. The article then states that "the more we 'demand' [rights], the more we shan't get them." Fern tells her readers that women should not waste their time and energy at women's rights conventions, or as Fern phrases it "trotting to *Sigh*-racuse," because their demands will make men more stubbornly refuse to meet the demands. However, the article does not suggest women give up on their demands; instead, they should adopt a different strategy:

> The only way left is to pursue the "Uriah Heep" policy; look 'umble, and be desperate cunning. Bait 'em with submission, and then throw the noose over the will. Appear not to have any choice, and as true as gospel you'll get it. Ask their advice, and they'll be sure to follow *yours.* Look one way, and pull another! Make your reins of silk, keep out of sight, and drive where you like!

While at first glance, this column might appear to be a true feminine treatise telling women how they can win independence, much in "Little Bunker Hill" suggests it can be read ironically. For example, Fern casts

women's cause in an ironically humorous light by referring to women's trips to women's rights conventions as "trotting to *Sigh*-racuse," thus subtly mocking the trips with the word "trot" and echoing a perceived negative nature of these women's complaints with the emphasized "sigh" in Syracuse. Fern's article also offers another ironic invitation when she advises her audience to adopt a "Uriah Heep policy," thus alluding to a character from one of the most popular books of the 1850s, *David Copperfield*. Uriah Heep, however, is not a character most people would want to emulate. As Fern's text suggests, Heep presents himself as humble, and he rises in the world with his humbleness, but he also steps on anyone who gets in his way and is described by various characters in the novel as "villainous," "detestable," and full of "malice, insolence, and hatred."[36] Even enduring these negative attributes, his policy is not one to emulate because Heep ends up powerless in jail at the conclusion of the novel.

Most significantly, this entire article could appear to be an ironic invitation because the whole thing can be read as conflicting with the facts of its presentation: the column claims to be covert advice but instead is very public commentary. If this article presents a disguised feminism, the disguise does not work well because Fern is giving away her disguise, letting everyone know to be on the lookout for rebellious women using indirect methods to advocate their feminism.

Conclusion

With her presentation of self as constantly fluctuating, Fern's readers cannot be sure who the "real" Fern is, and without this knowledge it becomes very difficult to read Fern's humor and irony; no one can be exactly sure when she does or does not intend to be read literally or what her exact message is. Because of the readers' uncertainty regarding Fern's meaning, Fern was able to say more than were many of her contemporaries without being censured or censored. When she argued for women's causes, some people could reader her intent as ironic, others as literal. Despite some of the problems this confusion may have presented, what it did do was to extend what women could say in public discourse and even what they could do. If Fern could dress as a man and write about it, so could other women. If Fern could acceptably discuss Suffrage meetings, other women could too. By writing and continually contradicting herself, Fern slowly began to turn the norm of what was acceptable for women and what was feminine. Fern's turn was no "radical" change, but an essential beginning to more radical changes. What Fern's contradictions did was to illustrate that the binaries of acceptable and unacceptable, feminine and masculine, public and private were nothing more than fictions that could easily be confused.

While Fern could and did use this strategy of irony and contradiction outside the periodical, the strategy was more successful in the periodical. Certainly, her published books, including those that reprinted her newspaper columns (such as *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio*, the book from which "A Little Bunker Hill" is quoted), were successful, but much of this success built upon the success and credibility Fern established in the periodical. In addition, the books' success did not seem to resonate as did her periodicals. For example, the contemporary reaction to Fern's novel *Ruth Hall* was far more critical than was the reaction to her *Ledger* articles.

This article argues that the medium of the periodical—with its open-endedness—does not in itself create problems of interpretation found in Fern's work, but that the medium enhances them. Although Fern was able to use the periodical to magnify the power of her words, others were not. While the *Ledger* is full of numerous other works by women and other periodicals, such as Sarah Hale's *Godey's Lady's Book*, abound with contributions by women, few of these women writers used the open-ended nature of the periodical as Fern did. In addition, while many women, such as Amelia Bloomer, successfully wrote and edited for periodicals advocating women's issues, others failed. For example, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton's periodical, *Revolution*, was short lived. Even Stowe's "The True Story of Lady Byron's Life" published in *Atlantic Monthly*, which dealt with issues of marital infidelity and incest, received condemnation and came close to ruining Stowe's previously successful career.[37] Given these contradictions, this article also suggests we need to look more closely at the role of irony in the periodical, considering ways in which the periodical might encourage very different readings of the message to very different audiences, thus allowing the ironic statement to act as a kind of safety valve for oppressed people who want to turn the norm. As David Kaufer has commented, rhetors sometimes use irony to protect themselves "when it is in the speaker's interests not to state explicitly (or directly) the evaluation to be made."[38]

Certainly, the work of Fanny Fern does not answer all these questions about the relationships between periodicals and oppressed peoples, or even about the relationships between periodicals and feminism. However, her work does clearly show that the periodical's lack of authority may have paradoxically allowed women a socially acceptable, though limited, means of authority. In addition, her work shows that scholars of the periodical and of women's studies have much work to do, together.

Endnotes

1 Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden, ed., *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990).

2 Kenneth M. Price and Susan Belasco Smith, ed., *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995).

3 Martha M. Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991).

4 Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "Rhetoric of Women's Liberation: An Oxymoron," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59 (1973), 75; Campbell, "Gender and Genre: Loci of Invention and Contradiction," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81 (1995), 479.

5 Campbell, "Gender and Genre," 479.

6 See, for example, Catharine Beecher, *An Essay On Slavery and Abolitionism With Reference To The Duty Of American Females* (Philadelphia: Henry Perkins, 1837). Beecher is an interesting contradiction; despite her condemnation of Angelina Grimke for threatening the status of women, Beecher was a tireless crusader for educational reform for women. Within this same work, Beecher makes a compelling argument that women are natural teachers and should receive the education necessary for them to complete this natural ability. The difference, Beecher argues, between the teachers she promotes and women like Grimke is that teachers work their influence subtly and within women's appropriate sphere.

7 See, for example, Barbara Ann Bardes and Suzanne Gossett, *Declarations of Independence: Women and Political Power In 19th Century American Fiction* (Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Nina Baym, *Feminism and American Literary History: Essays* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992); Nina Baym, *Women's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820-1870* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978); Karen Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980); Ann Douglas [Wood], "The 'Scribbling Women' and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote," *American Quarterly* 23 (1971), 3-24; Judith Fetterly, "Introduction," *Provisions: A Reader from 19th-Century American Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); Mary Kelley, *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in 19th Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 1-40.

8 Quoted in Bardes and Gossett, *Declarations of Independence*, 130.

9 Alison Adburgham, *Women In Print: Writing Women and Women's Magazines from the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972); Laurel Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges: Journalism, Gender and Literature in the Nineteenth-Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1994); Kathryn Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture: The Construction of Femininity in the Early Periodical* (London: Routledge, 1989).

10 Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*, 24; Mary Ruth Hiller, "The Identification of Authors: The Great Victorian Enigma," *Victorican Periodicals: A Guide to Research*, vol I, ed.

J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (New York: Modern Language Association, 1978), 123-4.

11 Louis James, "The Trouble With Betsey: Periodicals and the Common Reader in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England," in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 352.

12Susan Belasco Smith, "Serialization and the Nature of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," in *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Kenneth M. Price and Susan Belasco Smith (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 71. In this article, Smith argues Stowe's novel works best as a serial novel because this form is most compatible with the structure Stowe chooses for her novel and because it allows for the audience to feel involvement with the tale.

13 Smith, "Serialization."

14 Margaret Beetham, "Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre," in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, and Lionel Madden (New York: St. Martins, 1990), 27.

15 Jame, "Trouble with Betsy."

16 Quoted in Christopher Kent, "Victorian Periodicals and the Constructing of Victorian Reality," in *Victorican Periodicals: A Guide to Research*, vol 11, ed. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (New York: Modern Language Association, 1978), 2.

17 Quoted in Ann P. Robson and John M. Robson, "'Impetuous Eagerness': The Young Mill's Radical Journalism," in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 61.

18 Beetham, *Theory of the Periodical*, 19.

19 E. Claire Jerry, "The Role of Newspapers in the Nineteenth-Century Women's Movement,"in *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, ed. Martha M. Solomon (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991) 17-29; Martha M. Solomon, "The Role of Suffrage Press in the Women's Rights Movement," in *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, ed. Martha M. Solomon (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991), 1-16. Jerry points out that the permanence of the periodical allowed its writers' words to have a longer-lasting impact than did spoken words; with newspapers continually reread, the newspapers' ideas were continually reinforced—even from generation to generation.

20*New York Ledger*, 10 July 1869; *New York Ledger*, 2 March 1861.

21 Fanny Fern, *Folly As It Flies; Hit At* (New York: Carleton, 1868), 118; Fanny Fern, *Ginger Snaps* (New York: Carleton, 1870), 258.

22 *New York Ledger*, 6 November 1858.

23 Fanny Fern, *Caper Sauce: A Volume of Chit-Chat About Men, Women, And Things* (New York: Carleton, 1872), 76.

24 Mary Clemmer, *Men, Women, and Things* (Boston: Ticknor and Co., 1886), 170, 174.

25 *New York Ledger*, 26 February 1859.

26 *New York Ledger*, 23 October 1858. This column was reprinted in Fanny Fern, *Caper*, 225-6.

27 *New York Ledger*, 10 July 1858.

28 *New York Ledger*, 17 July 1858.

29 Richard Lanham, *A Handbook of Rhetorical Terms: A Guide for Students of English Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 61.

30 Wayne Booth, *The Rhetoric of Irony* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 49-86, 53.

31 Ibid., 81, 73, 120.

32 Joyce Warren, *Fanny Fern: An Independent Woman* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 166.

33 *New York Ledger*, 12 September 1868.

34 Fanny Fern, *Fern Leaves From Fanny's Portfolio* (Auburn, NY: Derby and Miller, 1853), 346-347.

35 See, for example, David Reynolds, *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 403-404; Nancy A. Walker, *Fanny Fern* (New York: Twayne, 1993), 34.

36 Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*, Vol 2 (New York: Collier & Son, 1917), 150, 155, 346.

37 For a detailed discussion of the circumstances surrounding this article, see Joan B. Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 362-378.

38 David Kaufer "Ironic Evaluations," *Communication Monographs* 48 (1981): 36.

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Trying Television: WKOW-TV in the 1950s

by Kathyrn B. Campbell

Although some media historians have recently begun to record the story of local television stations, the special challenges faced by the UHF broadcasters have yet to be explored, especially from the viewpoint of the home-town entrepreneurs who got their stations on the air in the 1950s. Few of the UHFs that obtained FCC licenses during that decade survived. This article traces the fortunes of one local company that did, incorporating its archive of company minutes and oral interviews with former owners and employees.

The history of local television was woefully neglected until Michael D. Murray and Donald G. Godfrey published their edited volume, *Television in America: Local Station History from Across the Nation* (1997).[1] Their collection, however, concentrates on local VHF stations, leaving the history of the UHF channels and their unique challenges still to be written.

Television historians generally tell the tale of UHFs as a brief sidebar, noting the numbers of licenses applied for and abandoned, or charting a comparison of UHF and VHF profits.[2] But without stories of the people and the communities who were trying television in the 1950s, it remains a somewhat impoverished history.

WKOW-TV in Madison, Wisconsin, is one of the few UHF stations that survived the early years of local television. The story of this pioneer unfolds in the minutes of the Monona Broadcasting Company's board of directors' meetings, held at least once a month from 1946 to 1960, against the background of sweeping technological change and unpredictable government regulation. It is supplemented by oral history interviews with some

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of the men who owned and managed the station during those years, as well as by the archives of local newspapers. UHF ownership in the 1950s was trying, indeed, and this research attempts to document the interplay of national broadcast politics and local economics through the lens of a single case study.

Although WKOW-TV was the first local television station on the air in the Madison market, its owners were somewhat out-maneuvered by the FCC and potential competitors: WKOW was assigned a UHF frequency at a time when VHF stations were acknowledged as clearly superior in broadcast quality and reach. This gave the "Vs" a huge advantage in attracting audiences and advertisers in markets where they competed with UHFs. To try to survive, the WKOW-TV board members had to concentrate on the bottom line—and they did. As was common in those years for anyone considering television, they began by getting a radio station on the air and making it profitable, then used the radio profits to carry the television station when it was launched.[3] Throughout it all, these Madison businessmen—two contractors, two merchants, an engineer, a real estate agent, and an attorney—kept labor costs to a minimum and maximized their profit, cutting every possible corner to keep their new TV station from "going dark." The financial survival of both their radio and television operations was defined by daily triumphs of spot advertising sales and successful second-guesses about the FCC's next move. And although they kept tabs on the programs that they could sell to advertisers, the records of their meetings reveal little concern about the content of their shows. Those worries were left to the station managers and the staff members struggling to invent local television as they signed on each day.

WKOW-TV survived—but just barely. WKOW-TV had to compete more fiercely for programming, advertisers, and viewers every year throughout the 1950s, especially after the FCC allowed a VHF channel to enter the Madison market.

In the beginning, there was radio

Incorporated on 14 September 1945, the Monona Broadcasting Company (named in honor of one of the capital city's beautiful lakes) issued its first stock at $100 per share. It took the company almost three years, until January 1948, to buy equipment, erect a tower, acquire programming and an affiliation with the Mutual Broadcasting Network, and get WKOW-AM on the air at 1070 on the radio dial.

From its inception, WKOW radio targeted and nurtured a rural Wisconsin audience to become the top station in the Madison area. Ralph Ammon, a well-known figure in agricultural circles, was appointed man-

ager in 1948. He had been farm editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal* from 1924 to 1930, when his criticism of the county fair operation led to his appointment to its board of directors and then to the position of fair manager. He successfully managed the fairs during the depths of the Depression and was appointed state director of the department of agriculture in 1938, a post he resigned in 1942. He got his radio experience at WLS in Chicago before returning to Madison. Equally important, he owned the monthly *Dairyland News*, which shared office space and some staff with WKOW radio.[4] The *Dairyland News* carried large display advertisements for the radio station, emphasizing its farm coverage and keeping it well connected throughout the years to its rural listeners.[5]

The radio station's eventual success was hard-won, however. In July of 1949, four years after the new company incorporated, it was still struggling financially. Ammon reported to the board of directors that the radio station had lost $6,000, despite paring expenses such as the engineers' salaries down to a minimum. Nearly 50 years later, board member George Icke recalls that the managers were always upbeat. "Money-wise, every meeting the manager would say, 'Well-l-l, things went good but you know we're running out of money' and there were always requests for more money. But always he was optimistic, saying things were going good .... (We) felt like quitting a good many times! It was hard to keep pouring money in because it was bleeding us."[6]

Despite their reservations and the staggering costs of television equipment, however, the directors authorized Ammon to prepare an FCC application for a television license after learning that July that the FCC planned to make television channels available in Madison.[7]

The fledgling radio station continued to struggle. The board reported to the stockholders at the annual meeting in December 1950 that their financial losses had not been stemmed by the changes they had made during the year. Although Ammon had survived a small uprising from unhappy stockholders in December 1949,[8] Michael Henry replaced him in September 1950. The company also had hired Atlass Amusement Company of Chicago as consultants and agreed to pay them half of their profits for five years (an arrangement that was to prove problematical when the station's FCC license came up for renewal[9]). Atlass helped WKOW radio get out of its contract with the weaker Mutual Broadcasting Company and to affiliate with CBS, the premier radio network, and the business relationship continued for two more years.

The idea of local television intrigued the stockholders at that 1950 gathering. When the floor was opened to questions, according to the official minutes, "The only question asked was whether the station was considering television."[10] The board president answered that WKOW, along with two other Madison companies, had applied to the FCC for television licenses.[11]

The stockholders were warned, however, that starting a television station would cost at least $300,000 and the company would have to be prepared for "substantial" losses at first.[12]

WKOW and the FCC

The Monona Broadcasting Company stockholders had to wait nearly three more years for local television to come to Madison. Their company's plans, along with those of dozens of others across the country, were in limbo as the FCC fussed over the problems of spectrum allocation that overwhelmed it after World War II.

The war had interrupted the development of television; with resources and profits tied to wartime production and sales, the industry was on hold. Immediately after the war ended in 1945, the expected push for FCC approval of backlogged license applications did not materialize. Many applicants were uncertain about committing their companies to a huge equipment investment until the FCC decided how it would allocate broadcast frequencies and whether the whole process would be held up until the technical problems with color broadcasts were resolved.[13] In March 1947, however, the FCC announced it would not be adopting color standards in the near future; about the same time, the coaxial cables needed for network transmission of programs were being rapidly installed by AT&T. These developments helped prompt the rush to television; within the year the number of stations jumped from the post-war total of six to 48.[14]

The FCC, however, had not foreseen the overwhelming demand for space on the broadcast spectrum. It quickly became clear that the wideband requirements of television and the need to avoid interference among signals meant that the original 12 channels allocated to television (VHF channels 2 through 13) would not begin to accommodate the skyrocketing demand.[15] The FCC responded by freezing new licenses for six months while it tried to figure out how to award channel assignments.[16] Six months may have been enough to solve the problem technically, but it was not nearly long enough to resolve it to the satisfaction of CBS and NBC, who used the nearly four years before the freeze was finally lifted to solidify their positions as the dominant networks.[17] During the freeze, which lasted from September 1948 to April 1952, only 108 stations—all VHF, including those whose construction permits had been approved before the freeze—were eligible to broadcast. CBS and NBC monopolized 80 percent of the 60-plus markets where television stations were on the air.[18]

In May 1951, as the FCC was still vacillating on how to allocate channels across the broadcast spectrum, the directors of Madison's Monona Broadcasting Company voted to lobby the government regulators for the alloca-

tion of three UHF channels to Madison, with VHF Channel 3 reserved for educational purposes. They pushed ahead with their local plans, as well. Stockholder and company engineer Walter Kean of Chicago was hired to carry out the necessary feasibility studies.[19] At their February 1952 meeting, two months before the freeze lifted, the optimistic directors authorized a down payment on a 10KW transmitter, cameras, and other equipment, estimated to cost more than $300,000, excluding the needed land and building.[20]

In April 1952, station manager Henry was authorized to attend a two-day conference in New York to learn how to perfect the company's FCC application for television. More information had become available on the equipment contract and the down payment was re-authorized with the caveat that the money would be returned if the FCC did not grant a construction permit. The equipment order also included an alternative UHF transmitter, even though the directors decided to proceed with an application for Channel 3.[21]

The directors continued to keep a close watch on their finances as well as their chances with the FCC. By May 1952, the company had been showing a profit consistently for several months, but the manager was asked to explain why the advertising salesmen were "getting considerably more in total wages and commissions than any of the other employees." The manager was requested to check into it and come back the next month with "some scheme of keeping our sales expense down."[22]

But of equally compelling interest was the news that the FCC had assigned Madison Channels 3, 27, and 33 for commercial use and Channel 21 for educational use—and had instructed all previous applicants to reapply. Although this would lead the board in future meetings to try to outguess the FCC on its chances of winning the prized VHF station, it decided to deal with the channel assignment later and plunged ahead to authorize up to $300,000 in debenture bonds to finance their equipment for the television station.[23]

They seemed to have good reason to be optimistic. The June 1952 minutes record a report by station manager Henry that the WKOW had its "best month in its history in May, with a profit before consultant's fees of over $7,000." (The minutes then noted flatly that expense accounts for the salesmen had been cut as requested.[24])

The next month, July 1952, the directors spent considerable time debating the advisability of applying for Channel 3, the preferred VHF position, versus Channel 27. They learned that the FCC order assigning Channel 21 for educational purposes was not final, and there was still some talk that Channel 3 would be assigned that spot. The directors opted to complete a second application for Channel 27, to be held at the ready should Channel 3 be reassigned to education.[25]

By midsummer, business was booming for the radio station, with a net profit before the Atlass commission of about $8,000 and an audience survey that reported that WKOW radio was the top station in the five-county area. The board was also doing its best to prepare for the FCC's final decision on television channel allocation, but it was a complicated plan. Competitor WISC had switched its application from Channel 3 to Channel 27; an out-of-town group, Bartell Broadcasting Company of Milwaukee, had applied for Channel 33. Finally the board decided to prepare applications for all of the available frequencies, submit the Channel 3 application if that frequency was finally assigned for commercial use, and let the executive committee make a quick decision on the alternative UHF applications if Channel 3 went to education.

In September 1952, the matter of the salesmen's compensation was also addressed again. "The manager . . . stated that since we appeared now to be the leading [radio] station in Madison, it seemed no longer necessary to be paying the salesmen 12% commission when (local competitor) WIBA operated upon a 10% commission." The board approved the change, and "the manager requested that he be allowed to break this to the salesmen in his own way, which was very acceptable to the Board."[26]

Meanwhile, the game of musical chairs provoked by the FCC's indecision was somewhat resolved; the Channel 3 controversy had gone to court, and Monona Broadcasting opted to submit its application for Channel 27.[27] And, the financial news was good: The second week of October was again the best sales month ever.[28] At their annual meeting that December, the directors had more good news for the stockholders. The company had a net profit for 1952 of about $30,000. The contract with Atlass Amusement had been canceled because the FCC frowned upon the profit-sharing arrangement. Although the Atlass-WKOW contract contained explicit language explaining that the duties of Chicago consultants were to "advise and conduct studies of our business, not to direct or control it," and Atlass had not exercised its stock-purchase option,[29] the board did not want to complicate its FCC applications. Left unrecorded in the official minutes was the fact that the company would now retain 100 percent of its profits.

The directors then tried to disentangle the FCC application mess for the stockholders, finally assuring them that "the whole matter of the development of TV was a question requiring further study and action by the directors, and stockholders were assured that careful attention was being given to the matter." Manager Henry acknowledged that having three TV stations in the Madison market would demand "aggressive salesmanship" to make WKOW successful, and that although a UHF channel assignment would make the job more difficult, it could be done.[30]

Eighteen days later, 20 December 1952, the directors met to hear officially that WISC (the Badger Television Group) had filed for Channel 3,

leaving Monona Broadcasting Company as the only applicant for Channel 27. Despite "some sentiment to the effect that Channel 3 would always be the big TV station with the widest coverage and that it was worth battling over," the directors voted 4-1 to put their efforts into getting Channel 27 on the air as soon as possible. One can almost read between the lines of board secretary Benjamin Huiskamp's minutes a general exhaustion with the whole affair and a relief at finally making a decision.[31]

The directors were correct in their assessment of the disadvantages of a UHF channel assignment. When the freeze was lifted, the FCC had added UHF channels 14 through 83 to accommodate the demand for new stations. The additional UHF channels increased the number of available channels to 1,873 (542 VHF channels and 1,331 UHF channels),[32] with stations broadcasting on the same frequencies located far enough apart geographically to avoid interfering with each other. The UHF channels had a brief, hopeful burst of popularity, especially in markets such as Madison where there was not yet local competition from a VHF channel. Overall, however, UHF channels were considered less desirable by local station owners and the powerful national networks, CBS and NBC. In addition to the disadvantage of UHF's limited range, many television sets were not equipped to receive UHF, and the FCC did not require UHF tuners on sets until 1964. By 1956, only 22 percent of the sets nationally could tune in a UHF channel,[33] although in communities where the only local stations were UHF, the conversion rate was much higher. [34] The combination of inferior signals and scarce receivers limited the audience, which made it much more difficult for UHF channels to persuade advertisers to buy spot ads or sponsor programs.

During the first few months of 1953, as the company geared up to get its television station on the air, various members of the board and the manager visited UHF stations in California, Oregon, Indiana, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Henry reported in January that he'd already had inquiries from advertisers about sponsoring local shows and in February he would talk to CBS about extending the radio station's affiliation to the new TV operation. By the end of February, the CBS affiliation had been cemented, and Henry told the board that rival network Du Mont's national programs would "dovetail well" with the CBS offerings and could be used to fill any programming holes.[35]

WKOW's experience was being repeated across the nation as companies scrambled to get their new stations on the air. For the Monona Broadcasting Company, prospects were good. The radio operation was getting stronger all the time; Henry told the board that WKOW had the highest radio penetration in the most counties of any Madison station and that a new audience rating had "dissipated sales resistance" among advertisers. The

listening audience had grown by 42 percent in three years, one of the highest in the nation.[36]

Construction was expected to begin on the television station and tower on 1 March 1953. About a third of the roughly $300,000 investment was to be financed by RCA, which was providing the equipment, and a shortfall of about $35,000 was to be met by calling in a portion of the directors' subscriptions in the amount of $5,000 each. As the company's TV debut date approached, the business outlook remained strong. Manager Henry reported in May that the company had an April profit of about $8,500; May, he said, was running ahead of April and could be the biggest month in the history of the company. The CBS affiliation contract had been signed; WKOW would get shows on kinescope and broadcast them one week later than their original broadcast dates in New York. Enough advertising had been sold to cover 50 percent of the television station's operating costs; and, the manager reported, "With our CBS affiliation and the opportunity of showing the best TV shows, we are able to sell spots around these shows with little or no sales resistance."[37]

WKOW-TV still prides itself on being "First With Television in Madison."[38] The directors of the Monona Broadcasting Company went to some lengths to be able to make that claim. When shipment of the transmission tower was delayed in April 1953, the board sent director Icke, a building contractor, to Pittsburgh to try to expedite it. The station's debut had been set for 21 June, but by the end of May, the tower had still not arrived. Icke was again dispatched east to help hurry matters along.[39]

The tower finally arrived on 30 June and was erected; a test pattern was broadcast successfully for several days, and 8 July was set for the official opening program. It was planned as a thirty-minute introduction, featuring the board of directors rather than all of the thirty-odd stockholders, as it was determined that the studio would not comfortably contain them all. The "studio," as it turned out, was simply a small office in a building at Icke's construction yard—the WKOW-TV building was not yet finished. "We were first on the air," Icke recalls, "and it probably cost us several thousand dollars to set it up."[40]

The next day, newspaper reports said the "dedicatory" program began at 5 p.m. and lasted fifteen minutes. The members of the board of directors were introduced as planned: President Stewart Watson, vice president E. B. (Ted) Rundell, treasurer E. C. (Ole) Severson, Icke, Otto Sanders, and Jacob Feldman. (Board secretary and company attorney Huiskamp was in Europe and missed the historic event.) The dedication program was followed by a five-minute broadcast of "Crusader Rabbit"; news, sports, and entertainment filled the next seven hours, and WKOW-TV was officially on the air.[41]

WKOW-TV was just a week ahead of another local UHF station, WMTV, Channel 33 (now Channel 15), which began broadcasting its test pattern on 8 July 1953, the same day that Channel 27 began its regular programming. Both stations were right in the middle of the great rush of stations jockeying for FCC licenses during the years just after the freeze was lifted. The number of stations nationwide jumped from just over 100 in 1952 to 350 by the end of 1954, but Madison's WKOW-TV and WMTV were two of the mere forty-one UHF stations operating by the end of July 1953.[42]

Trying television

For the next couple of years, WKOW-TV prospered. Madison merchants quickly made the UHF channels easily accessible for those TV set owners and new buyers who wanted to get the local stations and could afford to do so. Large display advertisements for the converters and UHF-equipped sets ran in the *Wisconsin State Journal* as Channel 27 debuted.[43] This cooperation among businesses made sense, of course, and was probably not unusual in all-UHF markets. Leo Bogart notes that in areas where UHF stations began broadcasting before the "V"s, set manufacturers provided retailers with UHF-equipped sets.[44] Some Madison-area set owners, however, had been receiving seven VHF channels, such as Channel 2 from Chicago and Channel 3 from Milwaukee. UHF converters were needed, and WKOW kept its test pattern on the air during the day to help local servicemen get converters and antennas installed properly for the best reception.[45]

In December 1953, a front-page story in the *Wisconsin State Journal* was headlined: "Record Christmas Buying Splurge, Rush on TV Indicated in Madison." The story, a typical holiday-buying booster piece, reports that with "the advent here of better viewing facilities, TV dealers in Madison are experiencing the first major holiday rush to purchase of new sets." Television represented a major investment; console sets sold for several hundred dollars, easily a month's wages for many people. "Cash is apparently a little short for large purchases," the story continues. "About three-quarters of TV sets are purchased on contract, most of them running 18 to 20 months."[46] Perhaps not so coincidentally, the board at its annual stockholders meeting, just six days before the front-page story appeared, had heard from WKOW-TV engineer Vincent Vanderheiden, who "asked the stockholders if they all had TV sets and about four-fifths of those present indicated they had. It was suggested that a banner Christmas present for 1953 would be a TV set."[47]

WKOW acquired a new manager, Ben Hovel, who was creative in promoting the station, trying out advertising contracts that combined radio

and TV spots and capitalizing on the stations' CBS affiliation. Network affiliation was crucial for fledgling local stations; the networks provided entertainment and the national advertising to support it. The networks wanted established audiences, and the VHF channels authorized before the freeze had provided them. In markets where VHF stations were granted licenses after the UHFs went on the air, not only did the UHFs lose their audiences to the stronger, more reliable signal, they often also lost their affiliations with the powerful and popular CBS and NBC networks as well. When it became clear in the mid-'50s that the FCC was not in a position to regulate the networks,[48] the networks switched their affiliations from UHF to VHF channels in a number of cities, including Madison.[49] It was a disaster for WKOW-TV. CBS canceled its longtime contract with Monona Broadcasting and affiliated with WISC, Channel 3, the VHF station that was just getting on the air.

Hovel, the station manager, remembers that he was not particularly surprised; after all, the powerful CBS and NBC networks were abandoning the pioneer UHFs in droves as the FCC "intermixed" more markets, leaving many of the "Us," including WKOW, in the hands of the less-desirable ABC network.[50]

Hovel says he understood at the time that CBS was making a good business decision. The new VHF channel had a stronger, more reliable signal and could deliver a bigger audience. "They had the right in our contract with them to give us six months' notice of their intention to cancel it, which they did," Hovel recalls. CBS did, however, notify the station informally and gave their Madison affiliate a chance to react. "I said, 'Well, if you've decided you're going to do it, I'm not going to assume you'll change it regardless of what we have to say, but I have a problem,'" Hovel recounts. "I said, 'We owe contracts for equipment payments for installment payments and it will take us at least nine months to clear those up before we have to take the nose dive,' as I referred to it." CBS responded by giving WKOW the requested nine months before handing their top-ranked programs over to Channel 3. "They were very good to us, the network," Hovel says now. "We had no fault to find with them at all." [51]

When WKOW-TV lost CBS, Hovel and the board decided that second-place in the Madison area would still be a profitable spot. "We settled on a sort of theme for the entire staff and that was . . . our GQ—our Good Quality, as we referred to it. Our Good Quality was that our signal reached the primary Madison trade zone—five or six counties, [and] our signal was equal to Channel 3 in the primary Madison trade zone. [We had] sales meetings every Saturday morning and we forgot all about our competition and concentrated on doing what we had to do—that was the kind of atmosphere we worked in, which was ideal for surviving the transitions."

Hovel was also adept at establishing a "family" feeling among the staff, most of whom worked at a variety of jobs in front of and behind the camera, that helped compensate for the long hours and low pay mandated by the board of directors. Peter Mortenson was a part-timer on the production staff when the television station went on the air; for him, the family connection was real. He remembers driving his mother, Luella, to the station for her first television broadcast. It is the only time he can remember that she was nervous; Luella Mortenson had been a mainstay of women's programming on WKOW radio for years and as soon as she took her cooking and interview programs live on camera, she became even more popular as a local celebrity. Mortenson says that Channel 33 tried to woo his mother away from Channel 27 before the rival UHFs went on the air, but she opted to stay with WKOW where she would be able to do both radio and television programs.[52] Advertising was easy to sell for Luella Mortenson's programs and airing them was always profitable for the station.

Getting the station on the air was exciting for young Mortenson and his co-workers, although he and his family had gone camping and missed the 8 July premiere. He had a number of jobs at the station during the next decade, from burning the trash to writing the news. "I loved the work, loved being out there," Mortenson says. "I had no interest in being on camera—that was not my thing—but I loved the production side of it. You knew you had to have it right because there was no retaping!"

Although he wasn't privy to the financial status of the station, Mortenson recalls the first few years as reasonably successful. He remembers a colleague reacting to a statement about how much money the station was making with the exclamation, "Well, it doesn't show up in *my* paycheck." It's a comment that has stuck with him for four decades. And Mortenson is still indignant about the seemingly endless demands from the engineers for wage increases, especially during the lean years that followed Channel 3's arrival on the scene. "I was very incensed about how much the union engineers made," Mortenson says. "It was terrible, terrible. It always hurt me because I thought 'You're hurting the company, you're hurting the people who are trying to keep this company going.' I thought they were overcompensated. Other stations just hired kids off the street."

The directors did try to hold the line with the engineers, often going months without signing a new contract until Hovel could negotiate an agreement acceptable to both sides. But meanwhile, the "nose dive" the manager had anticipated at the loss of the CBS affiliation steepened. Director Ole Severson reported that sales of all-channel television sets—those that could tune in both UHF and VHF stations without converters—were dropping.[53] On-the-air personalities were leaving for better-paying jobs at VHF stations in other cities.[54]

The company made less than $3,000 in 1957,[55] and the directors wanted out. Monona Broadcasting was not alone. By 1957, more than two-thirds of the UHFs on the air were operating at a loss, many, like WKOW-TV, sustained by a still-profitable radio station. By 1960, more than 90 UHF channels had left the air and the only economically successful UHF channels were in all-UHF communities.[56] Notes John M. Kittross: "The UHF operators who survived . . . had little on their side but hope. Faced with competition from VHF stations . . . and facing the problems of obtaining network affiliations, sponsors, and the conversion of . . . receivers, the UHF operators lived from day to day."[57]

In frustration, the Monona board of directors voted to form a separate corporation to handle the television operation; resolutions were passed, incorporation papers were drawn up but never filed. Director Ole Severson resigned at one point, stating that the duties of treasurer and board member "had been aggravating a highly nervous condition."[58] He remained active as a stockholder, however, and was re-elected to the board nine months later at the annual meeting.

The company's bottom line did not improve in 1958. Lavish Christmas parties became a fond memory; Luella Mortenson volunteered to bake a ham for the Christmas get-together in December.[59]

From 1957 until 1960, the board members looked anxiously—and very discreetly—for a buyer. Their official minutes contain no hint of the strong desire to sell that is still vivid in the mind of George Icke. "We were way in the hole. We were tickled pink to find *somebody* who would buy it and . . . we got this offer from the company out in the Dakotas (Midcontinent Broadcasting). We had a little meeting there and Ole Severson, one of the directors, was there and I voted 'Let's sell!' We hadn't made a penny. Let's sell, I said, because there was a chance to get back our investment. I told Ole Severson, 'Sit down and write the letter and I'm going to drive you over to the mailbox and pull your ear until you put that offer in there.' It was an offer I never dreamed of would go through. Well, it went through, one of the happy moments of my life, and that was the beginning of my giving away to my children. I took that money and divided it into four parts and I gave it to my kids. That was the end of TV for me."[60]

Midcontinent Broadcasting paid $925,000 for WKOW radio and television in 1960.[61] When Peter Mortenson first heard the details of the sale, he was shocked. "When I found out the (sale) figures, they didn't make a lot of sense to me. I found out the radio station was valued at something like $600,000 and the TV station was only $325,000. Oh my heavens (I thought) this little thing I'm working for is worth only half the radio station (and) I began to realize that this (had been) a tough situation."[62]

WKOW-TV: Surviving against the odds

The Monona Broadcasting Company board of directors took every curve ball the regulators threw, and despite the FCC, managed to stay in the game long enough to recoup their investment and leave Madison with a legacy of competitive news and programming. Caught between the major players—the networks and the FCC—and unable to do much except react, consult with other struggling UHFs and lobby the regulators, the Monona investors kept their attention riveted on the ledger sheets. Many of the recorded minutes open with the notation that a financial report "had been prepared on five multigraphed sheets";[63] although the directors were often less than happy with the bottom line, they regularly complimented the fine presentation of the bad news.

Local programming was one of Channel 27's strengths. Popular personalities such as Luella Mortenson were synonymous with WKOW and delivered the audiences needed to sell advertising. Marsh Shapiro, who became a local legend as kid-show host "Marshall the Marshal," arrived at WKOW after Monona Broadcasting sold the station, but he inherited Channel 27's good reputation in the community. "When I got into the broadcast business back in 1960," he points out, "most of the on-the-air people were local, people who had come up through the ranks. They had a basic background in what Madison was, they knew people, they had good news contacts, they were able to make judgments that could relate to the community interest."

Shapiro firmly believes the two UHF stations did a better job of covering the local community than did the more powerful VHF station, Channel 3. "We had to work twice as hard to get to where Channel 3 was," he recalls. "We were constantly climbing the mountain because they had oodles of money (but) their news and sports and weather were really kind of inferior at the time. Generally 15 and 27 were super competitive. (Channel 3) was more the regional station because they had the VHF; they were more the snobby kind of station. (Channel 3 owner) Morgan Murphy had deep pockets, but he didn't even have to get into his deep pockets just by the mere fact that they were here and they were the 'V.' They could have put a chimp on the air and they would have got the same ratings."[64]

The political and corporate maneuverings of the FCC and the national networks buffeted all the struggling UHFs for more than a decade, but in the end, politics saved WKOW-TV. According to Blake Kellogg, the owners of Midcontinent Broadcasting wanted WKOW-TV because they thought they had enough political power to get the Madison market deintermixed, i.e., reconfigured so that all of the stations would be assigned UHF channels. [65] Kellogg, who was hired by Midcontinent to run the sta-

tions' news department in 1960, recalls that Midcontinent had "some kind of pipeline" to Newton N. Minow, who had been tapped by President John F. Kennedy to head the FCC;[66] WKOW's new owners were confident that de-intermixture was possible and potentially very profitable.

They were mistaken. In 1967, the FCC rejected WKOW's plea to force WISC-TV to move from Channel 3 to a UHF band. The FCC said its 1964 "all-channel" ruling that required new television sets to be equipped for both UHF and VHF would rescue the surviving UHFs. The FCC was unmoved when WKOW's owners pointed out that WISC-TV made nearly a million dollars in 1965; WMTV made about $90,000, and WKOW-TV lost $100,000. During the hearings, said the newspaper report, "WKOW insisted the all-channel concept 'hasn't worked in Madison and will never work anywhere.'"[67]

Despite that bleak assessment, Mid-Continent sold WKOW-TV in 1970 for $3 million; it has subsequently changed hands three times and is currently owned by Tak communications, which paid $22 million for it in 1985.[68] It retains its affiliation with ABC.

The Monona Broadcasting Company was actually a remarkable local television success story. The year that WKOW went on the air, 1953, was the last year that new UHFs outnumbered abandoned ones, 123 to 2. In 1954, 29 UHFs "went dark" and only twenty-five took to the airwaves. By mid-1959, just about the time Monona's owners were getting frantic to sell, only seventy-five UHFs remained on the air out of the 165 who had started broadcasting after July 1952.[69]

The FCC had publicly supported the prospects of UHF, announcing in its *Sixth Report and Order* (1952) that "we are convinced that the UHF band will be fully utilized and that UHF stations will eventually compete on a favorable basis with stations in the VHF."[70] But nevertheless, the FCC continued to discuss moving all television broadcasting to UHF,[71] leaving local applicants and owners scrambling to reposition themselves on short notice if necessary. When it became apparent by the late 1950s that UHF channels were mired in the financial mud, one FCC commissioner made it clear that the FCC was accepting no responsibility for the disaster. "I do not believe the Commission can be blamed for those who display bad business judgment in trying to move in on the UHF channels without making a thorough assessment of the availability of equipment both for receiving and transmitting as well as the economic factors which they might be confronted within the communities in which they proposed to establish service." [72] Critic Vincent Mosco adds: "(The commissioner) did not discuss the Commission's own rosy forecasts for UHF, nor its own contribution to the creation of a system where, in most cases, the only good business judgment for prospective UHF operators would (have been) to stay out of the market."[73]

Filling the gap in local television history

The history of local television will not be complete until the history of the pioneering UHFs is fully explored. This history of WKOW-TV's early years offers a starting point; additional research illuminating the history of other UHFs, both those that survived and those that didn't, is needed. The 1960s and 1970s, when the UHFs competed with the "Vs" before the advent of cable helped level the playing field, warrant investigation. The story of those who struggled to succeed in a technologically second-class environment prompts a number of interesting questions: How did the FCC's actions limit and direct the new medium of television? What impact did those limitations have on competition and local control of programming? Does a better understanding how radio stations underwrote television's early losses inform current analysis of changing media technologies? The UHF story, still mostly untold, may hold many of the answers.

Endnotes

1 Michael D. Murray and Donald E. Godfrey, *Television Broadcasting in America: Local Station History from Across the Nation* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1997), ix-xi. The authors provide a comprehensive review of the rare scholarly works on local television station histories. Research for this article uncovered no others.

2 See, for example, the excellent and concise summary by Andrew F. Inglis, *Behind the Tube: A History of Broadasting Technology and Business* (Stoneham, MA: Butterworth Publishers, 1990), 205-211.

3 Murray and Godfrey, *Television Broadcasting in America,* xxvi.

4 "Ammon named WKOW Manager," *Wisconsin State Journal,* 14 October 1948.

5 See, for example, display ads for WKOW, *Dairyland News,* January 1952, February 1952, May 1952, April 1954.

6 George Icke, interview by author, tape recording, Madison, Wisc., 28 April 1997.

7 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held July 18, 1949," Box 2, Folder 1, 243.

8 According to an article in the *Wisconsin State Journal* following the 1949 meeting, headlined "Ammon Given Approval on Job/Stockholders Defeat His Foes at WKOW," a small group of stockholders tried to replace several members of the board of directors, apparently in an attempt to gain enough support to fire Ammon. The body of the article fails to

explain the "foes" of the headline, although the company's engineering consultant, Walter Kean of Chicago, was one of the unsuccessful candidates for a board seat.

9 *The Capital Times*, 14 June 1950.

10 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held December 5, 1950," Box 2, Folder 1, 298.

11 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held April 19, 1952 At 10:00 O'Clock," Box 2, Folder 1, 343. The company's original FCC application was submitted in 1948.

12 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of Monona Broadcasting Company Held December 5, 1950," Box 2, Folder 1, 298.

13 Christopher H. Sterling, *Electronic Media* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984), 16-18; Sydney W. Head and Christopher H. Sterling, *Broadcasting in America,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1982), 184. The fight between RCA and CBS to get their rival color technologies endorsed by the FCC is fascinating and well-chronicled in Christopher H. Sterling and John M. Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1978), 296-298.

14 Head and Sterling, *Broadcasting in America*, 187.

15 Leo Bogart, *The Age of Television* (NY: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1972), 302.

16 Sterling, *Electronic Media*, 16.

17 George Comstock, *Television in America* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1991), 15.

18 Ibid.

19 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held May 19, 1951 At 11:00 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 312.

20 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held February 23, 1952 At 11:00 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 339.

21 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held April 19, 1952 At 10:00 O'Clock," Box 2, Folder 1, 343.

22 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held April 19, 1952 At 10:00 O'Clock," Box 2, Folder 1, 345.

23 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held April 19, 1952 At 10:00 O'Clock," Box 2, Folder 1, 345.

24 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held June 24, 1952 At 7:45 P.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 348.

25 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held July 19, 1952 At 10:30 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 350.

26 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held September 29, 1952 At 9:30 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 356.

27Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held September 29, 1952 At 9:30 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 356.

28Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held October 20, 1952 At 7:30 P.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 359.

29 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of Monona Broadcasting Company Held December 5, 1950," Box 2, Folder 1, 296.

30 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of Monona Broadcasting Company Held Tuesday, December 7, 1952 At 8:00 P.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 369.

31 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held December 20, 1952 At 9:30 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 372.

32 John Michael Kittross, *Television Frequency Allocation Policy in the United States* (NY: Arno Press, 1979), 3.

33 Ibid., 319.

34 Ibid., 342. For example, in 20 all-UHF communities in 1956, the conversion rate averaged 74 percent.

35 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held February 23, 1953 At 9:30 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 382.

36 Ibid.

37 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held May 16, 1953 At 9:45 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 396.

38 Display advertisement, *Wisconsin State Journal*, 9 July 1953. This small 2-column advertisement appeared only once in July 1953, the day after WKOW began broadcasting. It was embedded in the television listings.

39 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held April 25, 1953 At 9:30 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 394-395. Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held May 16, 1953 At 9:45 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 396-397.

40 George Icke, interview by author, tape recording, Madison, Wisc., 28 April 1997.

41 "WKOW-TV On 7-Hour Schedule," *Capital Times*, 9 July 1953. "Today's TV Highlights," *Wisconsin State Journal*, 8 July 1953, 1, 8.

42 Kittross, *Television Frequency Allocation Policy*, 297.

43 *Wisconsin State Journal*, 8 July 1953.

44 Bogart, *Age of Television*, 303.

45 Report to the board prepared by Vincent Vanderheiden, Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. Box 2, Folder 2, 10 March 1954. Vanderheiden also noted that dealers kept television sets tuned to the WKOW test pattern and gave favorable mention to the advertising message that appeared with it.

46 *Wisconsin State Journal*, 6 December 1953.

47 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the 1953 Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of Monona Broadcasting Company Held Tuesday, December 1, 1953 at 8:00 P.M.," Box 2, Folder 1, 420.

48 See Kittross, *Television Frequency Allocation Policy*, 324-344, for a comprehensive chronology of the affiliation disputes.

49 Kittross, *Television Frequency Allocation Policy*, 337; Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held April 30, 1953 At 9:30 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 2, 512.

50 The Du Mont Television Network officially disbanded in September 1955. For a full accounting, see Gary Newton Hess, *An Historical Study of the Du Mont Television Network* (NY: Arno Press, 1979).

51 Ben Hovel, interview by author, tape recording, Madison, Wisc., 26 April 1997.

52 Peter Mortenson, interview by author, tape recording, Madison, Wisc., 22 April 1997.

53 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held November 1, 1956 At 7:30 P.M.," Box 2, Folder 2, 525.

54 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of the Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held Monday, May 20, 1957, At 9:30 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 2, 542.

55 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "Minutes of the 1957 Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of Monona Broadcasting Company Held Tuesday, December 3, 1957 at 8:00 P.M.," Box 2, Folder 2, 559.

56 Kittross, *Television Frequency Allocation Policy*, 9, 298. Beginning in 1954, the number of UHF channels that went off the air exceeded the number going on the air every year until 1959.

57 Ibid., 288.

58 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "The Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of the Board of Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held February 18, 1957 At 9:30 A.M.," Box 2, Folder 2, 539.

59 Monona Broadcasting Company document collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. "The Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of the Board of Directors of Monona Broadcasting Company Held Tuesday, December 2, 1958 at 4:30 P.M.," Box 2, Folder 2, 596.

60 Icke interview.

61 *Broadcasting & Cable Yearbook 1999* (New Providence, NJ: R. R. Bowker, 1999), A153.

62 Mortenson interview.

63 For an example, see Monona collection, Box 2, Folder 2, 593.

64 Marsh Shapiro, interview by author, tape recording, Madison, Wisc., 29 April 1997.

65 Blake Kellogg, interview by author, tape recording, Madison, Wisc., 15 April 1997.

66 James L. Baughman, *Television's Guardians: The FCC and The Politics of Programming, 1958-1967* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 57-59. Minow was a native of Milwaukee.

67 "FCC Says No to Plea by WKOW," *The Capital Times*, 9 March 1967.

68 *Broadcasting & Cable Yearbook 1999*, A153.

69 Kittross, *Television Frequency Allocation Policy*, 298.

70 Sterling and Kittross, *Stay Tuned*, 317. This was in direct contradiction to the assessment in the report of the President's Communications Policy board, issued a year earlier, which stated flatly: "There is little possibility that a UHF station can compete successfully with a VHF station." (Ibid., 303).

71 Ibid., 325.

72 Quoted in Vincent Mosco, *Broadcasting in the United States*, (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1979), 77.

73 Ibid., 79.

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Book Review Editor's Note

by Tamara Baldwin, Book Review Editor

Would that there were time enough to read all the books on journalism and mass media history being published today! This is my thought whenever I open up that padded envelope from a publisher and find another title to add to my "Must Read" list. As Book Review Editor, it is my privilege to have these titles cross my desk before being sent out for review, and my reading list is growing fast.

The books reviewed in this issue are representative of what is being written in our field today. With one exception, books reviewed in this issue deal with American mass media. Two of the reviews focus on books about television. James Foust reviews Nancy Berhhard's look at television news during the Cold War years, and Craig Allen examines Michael Murray's *Encyclopedia of Television News*. Wallace Eberhard reviews a book edited by Kristen Smith on political cartoons of the Civil War, and William Covington reviews William Huntzicker's look at the press during the penny press era. Carol Sue Humphrey reviews Julie H. Williams book about publications in colonial America. Ronald Steel's biography of Walter Lippmann is reviewed for us by John Dempsey. The only book representing the foreign press is John Williams' *Anzacs, The Media, and the Great War*, reviewed by Jonathan Vance. Editor's Choice is Janice Hume's examination of obituaries and what they reveal about American culture.

These volumes are sure to offer readers illumination, food for thought, a fresh perspective, or a challenge to long-held beliefs.

OBITUARIES IN AMERICAN CULTURE
By Janice Hume. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2000. 198 pp.

Every age has had a fascination with death and all the ritual and ceremony surrounding it, and ours is no exception. Scholars, archeologists, anthropologists, and researchers of every ilk have looked for clues as to how earlier people lived by looking at how they dealt with death. In this book, Janice Hume has used obituaries published in major newspapers to help readers understand what was valued and commemorated in America's "collective memory" during three crucial periods in history.

Hume looked at over 8,000 obituaries in ten major newspapers published during three eras in which questions about inclusion and reconciliation of American society were predominant: the Jacksonion era, the period leading up to and following the Civil War, and the years prior to and following the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.

Before beginning her analysis of obituaries from selected years and weeks during these three eras, Hume provides a chapter that justifies using obituaries as a window to exploring cultural history. She uses media framing theory and the premise that mass media representations have the ability to cement certain ideology in society. She applies this theory by creating four "frames" or categories with which to analyze obituaries: name/occupation of the deceased, cause of death, characteristics/attributes of the deceased, and funeral arrangements. How each of these is represented can reveal information about society's attitudes and values. By presenting certain details about the person's life and death, she contends that obituaries can legitimize values and articulate virtues for the living to assimilate.

Obituaries during the Jacksonian era from selected weeks in the years 1818 and 1838 listed characteristics of the deceased that extolled a worthy life. Obituaries, like the one for lawyer James B. Lane, included this directive for the living: "'May his life be an example, and his death prove a warning voice, to the young, the thoughtless, the gay, and the dissipated'" (p. 31). Also extolled in obituaries of this era was any service done during the American Revolution, and any connection to George Washington, however slight, was deemed worthy of mention. Obituaries for men far outnumbered those for women during this period, which is hardly surprising. While men's occupations were listed in their obituaries, none of the women's obituaries made any reference to their work outside of the home, although many of them had such experiences.

Hume's look at the Civil War period entailed looking at obituaries published in 1855 and 1870 from the *New Orleans Picayune*, *the New York Daily Times*, and the *Baltimore Sun*. Obituaries of men outnumbered those

for women and children, and like in the earlier era, references to participation in the American Revolution and the founding of the nation were ample.

Obituaries from the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle* from 1910 and 1920, the years prior to and after women received the right to vote, comprised the last sample of obituaries under study. Obituaries in this era revealed a shift from eulogizing women as moral guardians of the home to remembering them for their social prominence, their wealth, and political affiliations. While women were still much defined by their relationship to a man as in previous eras, mention of new roles for them was evident.

Along with providing clues to virtues valued by society in these three eras, the analysis also gives a glimpse of society's view of death itself over the years. Causes of death figured prominently in obituaries from the Jacksonian era, and religious imagery emphasized the promise of immortality for faithful Christians. By the Civil War era, Americans' view of death had changed to a more detached one, aided in part by the war itself and advances in embalming and medical science. Rather than an emphasis on religious imagery and the afterlife, obituaries placed more emphasis on the life of the individual. By 1910 obituaries were more likely to reveal specific causes of death, including car accidents and mentions of suicide, a subject not addressed in previous eras. Gone too was the powerful religious imagery of the Jacksonian era.

Hume provides a chapter titled "The Forgotten Dead" in which she addresses those whose deaths did not receive mention in the newspapers. Those excluded were minority figures (Native Americans, African Americans, and members of immigrant groups) unless they distinguished themselves by defying their ethnic backgrounds by assimilating into the dominant culture. African Americans, for example, were virtually ignored in the obituaries, unless they lived to the age of l00 or beyond, a feat which was deemed newsworthy. Those missing from the obituaries were the *nonelite*, or those who lacked power, wealth, or social standing.

Hume has written a valuable and fascinating book that allows the reader to gain insight into previous eras through analysis of the obituary. Numerous excerpts from the obituaries themselves are included, giving voice to the lives and virtues of the people they were intended to commemorate. The author provides ample evidence that the obituary, admittedly only a small piece of published journalism through the centuries, can reveal much.

>Tamara Baldwin, Southeast Missouri State University

U.S. TELEVISION NEWS AND COLD WAR PROPAGANDA, 1947-1960

By Nancy E. Berhhard. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 245 pp.

By now, it is not surprising to hear that our "free" media system is rife with agendas, both hidden and obvious. Nor is it surprising to find out that government agencies often supply information that is more accurately defined as "propaganda" rather than "truth." Still, Nancy E. Bernhard's *U.S. Television News and Cold War Propaganda*, which is based upon these two notions, is a valuable account of how the government and news media can form relationships that allow each to further its own goals.

Bernhard explores the symbiotic relationship between television news and government information officers in the early Cold War years, characterizing it as a "partnership" designed to "report and sell the Cold War to the American public." Television news, born at essentially the same time as the Cold War, needed help to attain equal status with its radio and print counterparts and thus welcomed the programming resources offered by government information agents. The government, meanwhile, which initially tried to hold on to the notion that the free, private marketplace could best handle disseminating the "strategy of truth," quickly abandoned hands-off policies and opted instead for systematic control.

Using a wealth of primary material, Bernhard, associate editor of *The Long Term View*, a public policy journal, examines in detail the development of Cold War propaganda through television news. Beginning with the Office of War Information's activities in World War II, she chronicles how government control of information gave way to cooperative efforts between the government and television networks. This shift was in large part a result of the shift from a "hot" war to the Cold War. With no daily battles to chronicle, government information officers and television journalists instead emphasized the clash of ideologies between the United States and the Soviet Union. The result was that television journalists "demonized a subhuman enemy, showcased American efforts to contain the communist threat, and advertised the beneficence of American institutions."

The cooperation, however, was not without its disagreements. The television networks, while initially welcoming virtually any kind of programming help from the government, continually pressured for "hot" and "dramatic" news that would draw viewers, ratings, and advertisers. Government officials, on the other hand, sought wherever possible to avoid drama, demanding, for instance, that journalists submit their questions in advance to avoid surprises on the air.

Eventually, the emphasis on "news" programming gave way to entertainment, as networks demanded more profitable programming fare. First

came documentaries, such as *Victory at Sea* and *Air Power*, produced by networks in consultation with military officials. Such programs, Bernhard points out, "promoted military might as the answer to the rivalry between nations." Then came profitable dramatic series, such as *Navy Log* and *The West Point Story*, which the networks again produced with help from the Pentagon. The dramatic series, perhaps more than any previous programming, accomplished government propaganda goals while providing the networks with high ratings.

Bernhard closes by examining the literature on journalistic objectivity. How, after all, could journalists square their pledge of being "objective" with their willing participation in government propaganda efforts? Bernhard argues that objectivity is not a working standard for journalists but rather "a historical construct related to the shape of news markets and to prevailing economic and political orthodoxies." Thus, during the Cold War, television journalists' definition of objectivity "became grounded in a fervent anti-communism."

U.S. Television News and Cold War Propaganda is an engaging narrative on the activities of government information officers, television networks, and television journalists during the early Cold War. It is also a significant contribution to our understanding of what journalistic objectivity really means, if anything.

>James C. Foust, Bowling Green State University

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TELEVISION NEWS
By Michael D. Murray, ed. Phoenix, AZ: The Oryx Press, 1999. 315 pp.

One of the latest trends in mass communication scholarship is the publication of encyclopedias and dictionaries keyed to various components of the field. My library lists one such publication as of 1995. Since then, Margaret Blanchard's anthology of media history, the Don Godfrey-Fritz Leigh dictionary of radio history, and this book have appeared. At least one other is known to be forthcoming. While all of these works embody prodigious effort, whether they fill the bill as true reference sources remains to be seen.

Organization, coherence, and user-friendliness are among the standards of a good encyclopedia, and Michael Murray's collection on television news rises on all these points. More than 300 entries cross a spectrum of news-related institutions, programs, personalities, and issues. Each entry is factually and authoritatively written, and all contain suggestions for further

reading. Many are illustrated with photographs. One of the most striking features of the book is its index, which in three columns is no less than twenty-five pages in length. The culling together of all these elements, which represent the collective efforts of more than 100 authors, is a definite feat.

Yet as much as the book epitomizes the current media encyclopedia genre, it brings to mind a question this genre has raised: What is the purpose of this pursuit? Everyday readers would find the subjects too specialized and technical. Those active in television news would view the material as not specialized enough. In store for scholars and teachers is much interesting information, and yet these readers would be hard pressed to cite encyclopedia entries in their own works.

Traditionally, encyclopedias are inspired by an image of a student going to the reference section of a library needing to check maybe one or two elusive terms. To his credit, Murray does establish his TV news encyclopedia as a tool for students involved in TV news. Yet while much is included, not all of the terms relevant to such students—including basic ones like newscast, audition tape, producer, and non-linear—can be looked up. Not just Murray's media encyclopedia, but all of them, seem to have this shortcoming, that although they are broad they do not cover everything. From a student's perspective, "everything" is what an encyclopedia needs.

This is not to say the book should be overlooked. Because roughly half of the entries are biographical sketches, it has a particular attraction to broadcast historians. I found it useful and indeed enjoyable when read simply at random, not as a reference source. Still, it is not clear whether we've yet seen a true encyclopedia in a field as vast and intricate as the media. It may require someone thinking along the lines of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* to finally get it right.

>Craig Allen, Arizona State University

THE LINES ARE DRAWN: POLITICAL CARTOONS OF THE CIVIL WAR

By Kristen M. Smith, ed. Athens, Ga.: Hill Street Press, 1999. 155 pp.

Is the pen really mightier than the sword? Robert E. Lee probably didn't think so as he surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox, but this book does establish the ferocity of the battles fought by cartoonists north and south of the Mason-Dixon line during the Civil War.

The author combed archives from New York to Maryland to Georgia in coming up with a selection of approximately 150 cartoons from the pens of artists on both sides of the war, as well as some from across the Atlantic.

In his Forward, Dr. Emory Thomas, a respected Southern historian and Regents Professor at the University of Georgia, points out that editorial cartoons were relatively new in mid-nineteenth century America. He suggests that the graphic depiction of the war through graphics transformed by wood block or engravings into print was superior to the photography of the day, important though Brady and others proved to be. He warns us of the artists' unrestrained racist and ethnic jibes, used liberally to frame the role of African Americans, Irish, or other identifiable groups of the time. All in all, he finds the collection a valuable one, "art for the masses that continues to amuse and enlighten viewers and readers to this day."

Ms. Smith's Introduction is a tightly written primer on the state of graphic art of the period, with brief introductions to the artists, North and South, who put pen to paper. Thomas Nast, for instance, developed his style as a young man during the war, working for Northern publications. And one of the more prolific and articulate Southern cartoonists was Baltimore dentist Adalbart J. Volck, who published under the pen name V. Blada.

The range of issues covered is impressive and instructive, helping us to understand a broad range of themes that emerged in the wartime culture, from attacks on wartime profiteers to poignant cartoons of reconciliation after the guns fell silent. Particularly touching is one by an unknown artist in *Harper's Weekly* depicting two one-legged veterans, one a white Confederate, the other an African-American Union veteran. The cut line reads: "Give me your hand, comrade! We have each lost a leg for the good cause; but, thank God, we never lost heart." Ambiguously, it's not clear who is delivering that line.

This is not the definitive study of the cartoonists' role in the Civil War, but it is good scholarship, showing careful research, selection, and backgrounding. The techniques employed, speakers' "balloon" comments, artistry, and issues presented will engage any student of American history. Media history classes at both the undergraduate and graduate level will find it a useful springboard to discussion and further study.

>Wallace B. Eberhard, University of Georgia

THE POPULAR PRESS, 1833-1865
By William E. Huntzicker. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999. 210 pp.

After more than a decade of teaching about this era of journalism history, I now have additional insight to liven up the discussion of this period. Huntzicker puts personality to the facts, dates, and events of this transitional era. The era started with Benjamin Day and his *New York Sun*, when the youthful editor put together the formula that would be followed through the Civil War. "The *Sun's* small size, cheap price, short items, sense of humor, relatively clear language, attention to ordinary people, and enormous success sparked a widespread interest in the penny formula" (pp. 163-164).

Huntzicker points out that other well-known editors of the day, Bennett, Greeley, and Raymond had all tried portions of the penny formula previously, but it was Day who hit upon the right combination. Particularly interesting is the origin of commonly used phrases dating back to the era. "Out of sorts" originally referred to the fact that the *sorts*, which were the lead letters used in printing were all used up, i.e., a particular letter of the alphabet. *Upper case* and *lower case* referred to the distance the compositor had to reach to get the letters. After the composition was in place it was held in place by a flat *bed* of the press, thus the paper was *put to bed.*

Lincoln's manipulative use of the press in getting the public to buy into his policies provides readers with an interesting story line. A related sidebar is a review the *Chicago Times* gave the Gettysburg address: "The cheek of every American must tingle with shame as he reads the silly, flat and dish-watery utterances of the man who has to be pointed out to intelligent foreigners as the President of the United States" (p. 154). A controversial move by General Joe Hooker during the Civil War didn't set well with reporters at the time. In order to plug news leaks he required journalists to use bylines, identifying the writer of the story. It wasn't long before reporters realized this "burden" was really a "blessing" as they developed national reputations due to war coverage (p. 149).

The government had some influence in making the inverted pyramid style gain acceptance during the war. It was felt that the stories would be more believable if they seemed to be objective, reporting the 5W's and H. On 6 February 1863 at Young's Point, Louisiana, the only known court martial of a civilian newspaper reporter in American history takes place. Sherman said *New York Herald* reporter Thomas W. Knox had committed three crimes: disobeying orders, being a spy, and giving information to the enemy through a newspaper (p. 146).

Both the North and the South prohibited distribution of newspapers based on content. Lincoln suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*, which allowed anyone arrested to inquire immediately into the cause of his deten-

tion and if there was no just cause to be released (p. 128). The book contains numerous examples of the freedom of the press being severely restricted. Huntzicker's book is well-documented. It is a fascinating look at an era of American journalism that compiled the pieces of what would become mass-mediated society.

>William G. Covington, Jr., Bridgewater State College

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRINTED WORD IN EARLY AMERICA: COLONISTS' THOUGHTS ON THE ROLE OF THE PRESS

By Julie Hedgepeth Williams. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999. 298 pp.

In *The Significance of the Printed Word in Early America*, Julie Williams successfully describes the role of printing in colonial America. Although not the only source of information for early Americans, books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other printed materials provided a mainstay of knowledge as colonials struggled to survive and create a new culture in the New World. Williams first discusses the role of printed materials in the transference of culture to America. These materials had two primary focuses, one secular and one spiritual. The many publications that urged Europeans to immigrate to the New World exhibited the secular focus. Luring settlers was "the first significant role of the press in relation to colonial America" (30). The response to these publications was good, resulting in a diverse population in the colonies almost from the beginning of settlement.

The spiritual focus appeared in printed matter soon after settlement began. Both Puritans, who were known for such efforts, and non-Puritans used the press in an attempt to present their arguments to the public and to convert others to their way of thinking. Leaders in numerous religious groups sought a haven in America where their followers could worship God in peace. They used publications to spread information about their efforts. Printing was an important tool in the effort to spread God's word. The overall success of many of these groups "helped give birth to the American conviction that all denominations could live side by side in the new country." (93) Religious toleration became a hallmark of the American colonies, and the widespread use of printing by all denominations played a key role in this development.

Williams then shows that the printed word filled three very important roles in shaping culture: providing a place for discussion and debate, correcting false reports, and providing useful information. All of these shaped

American culture in a way that eventually led it to be distinct from the European culture that had been left behind. Discussion and debate became an important role for the press long before the American Revolution. Using a variety of examples, Williams shows that colonial Americans used the mass media as a forum for public debates in efforts to sway public opinion. Printed matter also quickly developed a reputation for being "the truth," and many colonials turned to publication to correct falsehood. Part of this reputation came out of the stability and permanence of publications—they lasted. Although what was printed was not always true, colonial Americans quickly attached more faith to something that appeared in print than to a verbal report. As a result, the press in America became an important tool in efforts to ascertain what was true and what was false. Printed matter also became an essential source of practical information for colonial Americans.

Numerous self-help publications appeared in the colonies, either through direct production or importation from Europe. Printing provided a ready source of information on a variety of topics, allowing colonials access to more knowledgeable people in other parts of the world. Printed matter was essential as settlers sought to shape the New World into the type of culture they wanted to create. Williams continues her discussion by considering other roles of the colonial press. She points out the fascination with local news. Even though foreign news predominated in colonial newspapers, that did not mean that Americans were not interested in events on their side of the Atlantic. This interest provides an inkling that the colonies were becoming their own entity rather than a copy of Europe. Another secondary role for printed matter was entertainment. Books, in particular, were important in this area. For many Americans, living in isolation, printed materials were one of the few sources of entertainment available. Publications also provided a means for advertising in the colonies.

Advertisements were a form of information and not a form of persuasion. Newspapers in particular provided a means for sharing such information throughout the area and thus served a useful role and function for all colonial Americans. Williams then discusses the ideas of those who participated in printing, either through writing or publishing. All of them found working with the printed word to be a difficult job at times. They perceived their efforts as a means for helping a growing country by providing useful information and guidance. But all of them also found it to be a ruthless business that was frustrating, demanding, and full of disappointment. Community service was the lofty goal, but the bottom line often influenced the results.

In the end, the reading public had the last say. Their decision to buy or not to buy determined whether a printer or author succeeded or not. Williams summarizes her study by emphasizing that Americans had an enormous "faith in the power of the printed word" (270). Printed matter was

important to colonials because "early Americans were children of the mass media. They had never been without the printed word" (275-276). It played an important and "multi-faceted role as Americans set out to import European civilization—and succeeded in founding a separate nation" (276). *The Significance of the Printed Word in Early America* is a well-researched and well-written study of the role of print in colonial America. Williams masterfully brings together a variety of sources that shed light on this period in American history and presents them in a clear and easily accessible manner. This book would be an excellent choice for anyone interested in early American history or the history of journalism in America.

>Carol Sue Humphrey, Oklahoma Baptist University

WALTER LIPPMANN AND THE AMERICAN CENTURY
By Ronald Steel. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999. 669 pp.

Walter Lippmann was the sort of grand personage who, on a trip to Greece at the peak of his career, could absently jot in a diary: "Saw the King, the prime minister, etc.—the usual people." An intellectual prodigy, he inspired a Harvard classmate to write:

> "Lippmann,—calm, inscrutable,
> Thinking and writing clearly, soundly, well:
> All snarls of falseness swiftly piercing through,
> His keen mind leaps like lightning to the True . . ."

Ronald Steel's definitive biography of the legendary journalist and political savant, first appeared in 1970 and has recently been republished with a new introduction by the author, a professor of international relations at the University of Southern California. Lippmann himself gave Steel access to his private documents, and the book is an exhaustively researched, impeccable account of Lippmann's life from privileged son of a well-to-do Manhattan merchant to his later years as confidante and advisor to presidents. Steel's writing is taut, yet the biography of Lippmann covers a thoroughly detailed 600 pages.

No modern figure can claim the stature of Lippmann, a towering figure whose career transcended journalism, who studied at the feet of philosophers William James and George Santayana, who at 29 played a key role in composing Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points," and whose advice John F. Kennedy sought in naming a secretary of state. As Steel observes in a new

introduction to his book: "It is tempting to speculate on what Lippmann might say about the events that have taken place in the years since his death [in 1974]." For journalists and those who think and write about journalism in the cyber age, it is even more interesting to imagine what Lippmann would say today about the profession he came to exemplify.

Lippmann eloquently reminds us why American journalists have been given such extraordinary freedom, freedom which it often seems is abused. The press, he wrote, was literally "the bible of democracy, the book out of which a people determines its conduct." But it would be a mistake to think that Lippmann was satisfied with the standards of journalism in his own day. He and a colleague conducted a study of the *New York Times'* coverage of the Bolshevik revolution. "The news about Russia is a case of seeing not what was, but what men wished to see. The chief censor and chief propagandist were hope and fear in the minds of reporters and editors. . . . [Their contribution to public knowledge was] about as useful as that of an astrologer or an alchemist." Lippmann later was to earn two Pulitzer Prizes for his own reporting on the Soviet Union.

Would Lippmann today join so many of his print brethren as pundits on the ubiquitous television discussion shows? Perhaps on one of the more erudite programs. But in the early days of television, Lippmann did not conceal his disdain: "While television is supposed to be 'free,' it has in fact become the creature, the servant, and indeed the prostitute of merchandising. . . . [Television's influence had been to] poison the innocent by the exhibition of violence, degeneracy and crime, and second to debase the public taste."

Yet by appealing to Lippmann's sense of responsibility (if not his ego), CBS News executive Fred Friendly persuaded Lippmann to submit to an hour-long interview, which became a six-year series of Peabody Award-winning programs. The man Steel calls "without a doubt the nation's greatest journalist" warned of the pitfalls of celebrity journalism: "It seems to me that once the columnist thinks of himself as a public somebody over and above the intrinsic value and integrity of what is published under his name, he ceases to think as clearly and as disinterestedly as his readers have a right to expect him to think."

By reputation a liberal, Lippmann possessed a fiercely independent intellect and often confounded his like-minded contemporaries. For example, as political thinker first and journalist second, he recognized that even the First Amendment has its limits. During the social upheaval of the 1930s, when communist and fascist groups began to gain strength, he wrote they should be tolerated "as long as it is certain that they have no hope of success. But once they cease to be debating societies . . . they present a challenge which it is suicidal to ignore."

Because today the audience for news is so thinly spread, it is difficult to imagine a single journalist, especially a newspaper columnist, ever again wielding the influence that Lippmann enjoyed from the 1930s to the 1960s. At its peak, Lippmann's column, "Today and Tomorrow," was syndicated to more than 200 newspapers worldwide with circulation in the tens of millions. Lippmann's fame was such that his name was dropped in a song from "Pal Joey," the popular musical: "Walter Lippmann wasn't brilliant today." A rare day indeed, as Steel's book convincingly demonstrates.

>John Mark Dempsey, University of North Texas

ANZACS, THE MEDIA, AND THE GREAT WAR
By John F. Williams. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1999. 302 pp.

The Australian identity is bound up in the First World War, in a mythology that holds that the Australian nation grew from the awe-inspiring feats of arms performed by the "diggers" at Gallipoli and in Flanders. Like many myths, this one has a core of fact surrounded by a complex mix of invention, half-truth, and wishful thinking. Its evolution, under the influence of journalists like C.E.W. Bean, is the subject of *Anzacs, the Media, and the Great War.*

The narrative is somewhat choppy, but along the way we get some fascinating insights. As early as August 1914, Williams argues, journalists were actively propounding the fiction that the Australian Imperial Force consisted primarily of Crocodile Dundee-like bushmen; this notion had a long shelf life, becoming a central pillar of the memory of the war that evolved in Australia in the 1920s and 1930s. Just as interesting is Williams' discussion of the campaign mounted by Bean and fellow correspondent Keith Murdoch (father of the redoubtable Rupert) to block the promotion of John Monash to command the Australian corps. Fortunately, the campaign failed, and Monash went on to be recognized as one of the finest generals on the Western Front.

But these interesting tidbits cannot compensate for the book's weak conceptual core. It sets out to "conjure up a sense of that *virtual* war in which our parents, grandparents and great-grandparents—soldiers and non-combatants alike—were asked to believe" (9), but does so with a pastiche of snippets from Australian, British, French, and German newspapers. The wisdom of trying to recreate any meaningful version of the war from such disparate press sources is questionable, for there was not one virtual war but many. National, regional, and sectional cleavages produced a whole range

of interpretations that intersected in some respects and diverged in others. William tries to convey this range, but the abandon with which the narrative leaps from Sydney to London to Paris to Berlin is disorienting. The evolving image of Australian soldiers in press accounts should provide a consistent analytical line, but it is often lost in a welter of episodes that have little apparent bearing on the Anzac legend. One suspects that Williams, a scholar of Germanic studies, was too often diverted from his Anzac thesis by other matters.

Also missing is any discussion of the realities of wartime journalism that underpin Williams' story. We hear nothing of the censorship regime under which Bean and his fellow correspondents labored, for example. What military and civilian censors had a crack at the despatches with their blue pencils? Nor are we told much about the papers themselves, knowledge which is vital before we can understand how they were party to this myth-making. In Canada (the comparison is apposite because Williams makes much of the contrast between Australia and Canada's very sophisticated and successful propaganda machine), many big dailies were avowedly and unashamedly political. They were owned or funded by political managers, and their journalists were employed to push certain agendas, not to write "the truth"; the notion of objective reportage would have been foreign to them. Was the situation the same in Australia? Williams hints that it was, noting that "it was the correspondent's *job* to write propaganda" (264), but this theme should be explored at the beginning of the book, not the end.

Finally, there is the unexplored notion of readership. Trying to recreate a virtual war (or wars) that people encountered is laudable, but we need to know more about these people. Who was consuming these despatches from the front? What proportion of the population in Australia regularly read the newspaper? Perhaps more importantly, how significant were the small-town dailies and weeklies in this myth-making? They do not appear in the book (nor, to be fair, do they appear in most other similar studies) but they were certainly significant, not least for the fact that they were less constrained by censorship regulations than the big urban dailies.

These are significant conceptual issues, and they all touch on Williams' central thesis. In short, can we infer much about a media-invented national myth without knowing more about the producers and consumers of that myth? Probably not, and this is a shame because Williams' book ends with a provocative point. The Battle of Hamel in July 1918, he writes, could have been the basis for "an alternative Anzac legend, stressing achievement, efficiency and Australia's coming to terms with technology and planning—modernist battle" (240). However, because Bean and his associates had spent three years trying to convince the reading public that every other Australian battle was an epoch-making event, by July 1918 few people were still listening. Or, was the alternative legend unpopular, not because the

public was jaded, but because they were uncomfortable with seeing the war in modernist terms? This is an issue that gets to the heart of the current historiography of the Great War: the struggle between traditionalism and modernism. But it remains unexplored, perhaps because of the surprising gaps in Williams' bibliography—even works that bear directly on his thesis, like Peter Buitenhuis' *The Great War of Words*, Jeff Keshen's *Propaganda and Censorship in Canada's Great War*, and Alistair Thomson's *Anzac Memories: Living With the Legend*, have apparently not been consulted.

In the final consideration, *Anzacs, the Media, and the Great War* shares certain similarities with some of the military offensives it describes: well intentioned, yet flawed in the execution. And Williams has something in common with the generals he writes of. Like them, his reach often exceeds his grasp.

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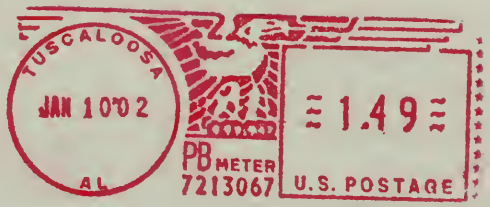

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American Journalism, a publication of the American Journalism Historians Association, publishes articles, book reviews, and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political, or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising, and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; and theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history.

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Editor's Note

by Karla K. Gower, Editor

This issue of *American Journalism* focuses on the first fifty or so years of the twentieth century and shows the variety of subjects media historians are researching these days.

Margot Lamme begins the issue with a look at Doris E. Fleischman in "Furious Desires and Victorious Careers: Doris E. Fleischman, Counsel on Public Relations and Advocate for Working Women." Although perhaps best known as the wife and business partner of public relations counsel Edward Bernays, Lamme compellingly argues that Fleischman was first and foremost an advocate of working women and only secondarily a public relations practitioner.

Robert Kerr takes us into the world of college football and its cultural significance in "The Great White Father and the Antichrist: *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter* as Cultural History."

Moving back in time, Meg Spratt uses coverage of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic in the print media to explore how the rise of the scientific method affected journalism. In "Science Journalism and the Construction of News: How Print Media Framed the 1918 Influenza Pandemic," she examines how journalism's emphasis on facticity and empirical data shaped the way the story of the influenza was told.

And finally, Randall Sumpter's article, "Sensation and the Century: How Four New York Dailies Covered the End of the Century," takes us back to the turn of the century and questions our conceptions of sensationalism.

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The AJHA Doctoral Dissertation Award, given for the first time in 1997, is awarded annually for the best doctoral dissertation dealing with mass communication history. A cash award of $300 will accompany the prize.

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Furious Desires and Victorious Careers: Doris E. Fleischman, Counsel on Public Relations and Advocate for Working Women

by Margot Opdycke Lamme

This article examines many of the nonfiction works of Doris E. Fleischman to discover why, as the wife and business partner of Edward L. Bernays, there is so little information concerning her contributions to the field of public relations. By tracing her words across more than half a century, it becomes clear that although she appreciated her role as one of the field's pioneers, her primary focus concerned women and work. Thus, to consider Fleischman's work solely in the context of public relations is to neglect her larger role as an advocate for working women.

Doris Elsa Fleischman Bernays was practically a lifelong New Yorker with a writer's insight, humorist's irony, feminist's edge, and pioneer's spirit.[1] She was one of the first to bring women's news to the city newsroom—even before women could vote.[2] She served as a one-woman public relations advance team in preparing the Atlanta media for the first meeting in the South of the NAACP.[3] She dedicated herself to the roles of mother, wife, public relations business partner, and community leader long before the term "work-life issues" was coined, and she never lost sight of the role she could play in addressing the issues that she and other women confronted as employees and homemakers. She once wrote, "If we are to believe the contradictory evidence of poets, scientists and historians, no one knows what woman is. She is a myth. We do not see clearly what she wants and we choose not to see very clearly what she does."[4]

Margot Opdycke Lamme is a doctoral student in the College of Communication and Information Sciences, The University of Alabama. A previous version of this article was presented at the 1999 AJHA national conference in Portland, OR, and received the Robert Lance Memorial Award for Outstanding Student Paper. E-mail: meglamme@aol.com.

Yet, while much has been written in the media history literature about her husband Edward L. Bernays and his contributions to the field of public relations, very little has been written about Fleischman.[5]

There could be a number of reasons for this. Bernays and Fleischman operated their business with Fleischman as the influential, behind-the-scenes partner, and with Bernays as the front man who represented the company in name and in client contact. This may have left an impression over time that her role was not as significant as his. Or, Fleischman's low profile could be due to her own wishes. In an interview with media historian Susan Henry, Bernays explained that Fleischman was modest and did not desire formal recognition for her work.[6] Or, it could be that because Fleischman and Bernays had a fifty-eight-year marriage and a sixty-two-year professional partnership, both ending with her death in 1980, it is too daunting a prospect to look back through the artifacts and attempt to delineate individual contributions in such an intertwined relationship.

Any one or combination of these reasons could explain the lack of literature concerning Fleischman's contributions to public relations. However, the purpose of this article is to suggest that the information about Fleischman's work may be limited because scholars have limited their perspective of Fleischman, herself. Bernays saw the development of the field of public relations as an end, as his mission and agenda throughout his professional life. Fleischman also was committed to the profession and fully appreciated the groundbreaking work that she and Bernays pioneered; yet, she admitted, "I am not as dedicated to improving the world through public relations as Eddie is."[7] Instead, she saw public relations as a means to meeting a larger agenda. Her mission was to encourage and support women in work. Promoting the public relations field was just one way to accomplish that.

Susan Henry has written three extensive articles on Fleischman, all of which shed much light on Fleischman's life and work, including the apparent anomaly in her written work, *A Wife is Many Women.*[8] Henry also believed that Fleischman's mission in life was not public relations. She has presented Fleischman as an intelligent and vital woman whose early contributions to public relations and, specifically, the firm she was building with Bernays, was substantial, but whose commitment to the feminist ideals of her time (equal opportunity, equal pay, and a woman's right to keep her own name) often conflicted with the realities of her dual role as wife and business partner of Bernays. Henry also has contended that Fleischman was, above all else, a passionate writer of fiction, nonfiction, and poetry, whose passion may have been both fueled and smothered by Bernays.[9]

Henry has cited *A Wife is Many Women* as an example of Bernays's influence.[10] This book's style was such a departure from Fleischman's usual well-paced, clean, and confident approach that it has been difficult to place

it in the context of the rest of her published nonfiction. Fleischman seemed to have conjured as her own the voice of a "naive, ignorant, inept, confused, insecure" woman.[11] Additionally, Henry's interviews with Fleischman's daughters reveal that many of the anecdotes in the book simply were not true.[12] However, this does not mean that it should be dismissed. Instead, if sounds of the intelligent and perceptive Fleischman who expressed herself so well are listened for, the same themes of advocacy and equity can be found in *A Wife is Many Women* as can be found in many of her other works.

In *The Unseen Power*, his history of twentieth century public relations, Scott Cutlip wrote that Fleischman brought a "breadth of view, sound common sense, clear writing, and stability" to the personal and professional life that she and Bernays shared, and he attributed much of Bernays's success to their partnership. Yet, despite reporting that Bernays considered Fleischman's role to be equal to his own and that he felt her insight and judgment to be superior to his, Cutlip included very little about Fleischman's contributions to public relations.[13]

There seems to be no doubt of the dominant role that Bernays played in their marriage and their business. Fleischman, herself, said, "Eddie's word is final and he casts the deciding vote in our partnership. I have elected him Chairman of the Board and Executive President in our personal life, where he decides where we shall live and when we shall diet, and in our public relations office where he was boss even before we were married."[14] But there also seems to be no doubt of Fleischman's independence; she was a "free spirit and pacesetter."[15] Thus, this article seeks to take Fleischman on her own terms and, through the artifacts of many of her nonfiction works, discover her true mission: serving as an advocate for working women.

The Woman's Page

After graduating from Barnard College in 1913 with an emphasis in English, philosophy, and psychology, Fleischman entertained thoughts of a career in opera or psychiatry.[16] Discouraged by her father in these and encouraged by Bernays to pursue newspaper reporting, Fleischman began working as a reporter for the woman's page of the daily *New York Tribune*.[17]

In looking back, Fleischman said that the *Tribune's* woman's page "was a leading influence in the Feminist movement and in the fight for Woman's Suffrage."[18] This was a time when many women teaching in New York City's schools kept their marriages secret until pregnancy required them to do otherwise.[19] But it also was a time in which the women and men in Marie Jenny Howe's Heterodoxy dedicated themselves to the new concept of "feminism," which she defined as the attempt by women to join "'the human race'" and to enter the world of activities pursued by men.[20] The woman's

suffrage movement was being reinvigorated under new leadership, and although Theodore Roosevelt had announced his support for a woman's right to vote in 1912, President Woodrow Wilson was still a few years away from announcing his endorsement.[21]

It seems clear that Fleischman embraced these ideas and served them well at the *Tribune*. Although occasionally punctuated with stories on fashion, decorating, and cooking, much of her work addressed women's place in society. She wrote about the National Woman's Party; the anti-war efforts of suffragettes; vocational training for women; and commercial efforts to provide vacation and leisure options to single working girls. She covered stories on women, marriage, and work; divorce; the need for fathers to take an active role in raising their children; the right of women to go to war; and women in government.[22] Often the words of her subjects provided the punch in her stories; sometimes her words did.

In 1915, Fleischman wrote about a boarding house where for $6 a week working girls were, with no "charity, condescension of frowning strictness of laws. . . . neither philanthropic nor professedly 'moral,' . . . free to enjoy themselves in [t]heir own home, quite as they please." By quoting Margaret Sherer, resident-in-charge of the boarding house, Fleischman reminded her readers that a working girl is "'just as self-respecting as her more fortunate sister, and she resents paternalism.'"[23] In a story published later that year about vacation options for single working girls, Fleischman emphasized to her readers the weight of responsibility under which some girls labored, informing them that a "young girl who is earning a large salary may often be contributing heavily to the family budget" so she cannot spend much on herself.[24]

There also were stories about working women who were not in financial need. For instance, Fleischman interviewed Rosalie Jones, an independently wealthy woman whom Chevrolet was training to demonstrate machinery. Fleischman quoted her subject as saying, "'Even if a woman does not have to work, . . . she should do it because it broadens her and brings her in contact with larger beings.'" Fleischman added, "The time will come, Miss Jones is positive, when women will be doing the work they like, instead of that which is thrust upon them, and more men will be doing the work they like than are now able to do it."[25] This is one of the few times in which she portrays men in the same light as women with regard to work.

She then wrote a piece on new psychological research by Leta S. Hollingworth at Columbia University who "made an extensive study of the alleged intellectual inferiority of women and the apparent reasons ascribed for it" and who found "child-bearing as woman's fundamental handicap." Fleischman made clear her own position to her readers, stating that women who had achieved intellectual distinction "had far below the average num-

ber of children. This is wrong. Women who can do things should be allowed by social and economic conditions to have children, too."[26]

In an interview with Dr. Ira S. Wile that same year, Fleischman addressed the question of child rearing. Wile emphasized the importance of men's participation in parenting, and she took up his position with gusto. Fleischman wrote, "Evidently, man has been so busy de[clarin]g woman's place as the home that [he h]as overlooked the salient fact that [he, als]o, has a definite duty to perform . . ."[27]

"Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations"

By the time Fleischman left the *Tribune* in 1916, she had served as assistant woman's page editor and assistant Sunday editor.[28] During the next few years, although the dates are not clear, it seems that Fleischman published some newspaper and magazine articles, and worked for the Baron de Hirsch Fund and the New York Dispensary.[29] By the fall of 1919, however, Bernays had hired her, a "beautiful, intelligent, charming and ingenuous girl," to help him start his public relations firm.[30]

Their early collaborations included promotional campaigns for Lithuanian independence, cottonseed salad oil, radium, and New York Governor Al Smith's presidential bid.[31] Although Fleischman wrote for the benefit of these and other clients, she also found time to revisit her concerns about working women in a 1920 story for the *New York Times*, specifically, women who had worked for the war effort. While the U.S. War Department was establishing bureaus and committees to ease the re-entry of veteran soldiers, Fleischman asked what was being done for the women returning from abroad. She argued that many had joined the war effort to escape families, parents, and loneliness, and that the new skills and perspectives they had gained in the process prevented them from returning contentedly to their lives before the war.[32]

She told of a stenographer who rose through the professional ranks during the war but then had to return to her original job afterwards, knowing that "it will be a long while before she achieves contentment on a new plane." She described one woman whose work in France "left her vigorous and happy. A few weeks at home and she is threatened with the virus of New York, nervous exhaustion." Still another left New York as a "radical" and playwright to care for orphaned babies in France but then returned to her parents' home after the war and had not written an article or a play since. Fleischman closed the story with a description of a society woman who, driven by her patriotism, left a happy and fulfilled life to care for the wounded in France. She returned frustrated with her life and her husband, got divorced, worked for the poor, and became even more unhappy.[33]

The ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, which granted many women the right to vote, ushered in a decade of "unprecedented personal liberation" for them, but Fleischman's time and talents seemed to be devoted to building the public relations firm.[34] She and Bernays married in 1922, upon which time she became an equal partner (fifty-fifty) in the business, "Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations."[35] According to Bernays, it was his idea that Fleischman retain her name. He explained that she "didn't care one way or the other, but I had an inner fear that marriage . . . would take away some of my liberties as an individual if there were always a Mrs. added to my name."[36]

Bernays's feelings may have been influenced by the Lucy Stone League, named for a woman who in 1855 kept her own name after marriage, after being assured by "jurists of consequence" that it was not illegal to do so.[37] Founded in 1921, the League sought to establish and obtain recognition for a woman's right to retain her name and use it, not her husband's, for working, earning pay, obtaining passports, voting, and running for office.[38] In his memoirs, Bernays described the League as an organization of "ultrafeminists" that "made an issue of a woman's right to keep her own name after marriage." Nevertheless, he claimed that it was he who was first drawn to the League and that he brought "a reluctant Doris" with him to the meetings.[39]

Overcoming Inertia

Despite her earlier commitment to the subject, it appears that from the early '20s until 1927, Fleischman did not publish any more articles concerning women and work. Meanwhile, Bernays published *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, his attempt to put into practical terms the works of such writers as Walter Lippmann while promoting the new field of public relations.[40] Then, in 1927, he produced *An Outline of Careers*, to put "public relations on parity with other careers."[41] The purpose of the book was to provide information on a variety of careers written by people who excelled in them so that young men and women would have a resource with which to make career decisions.[42] The book included thirty-eight authors, of whom three were women: an editor for educational organizations who explained the world of teaching; an author and playwright who discussed career options for writers; and Fleischman, who presented the issues and opportunities that women confronted in pursuing a career. The effort seemed to reignite her advocacy.

She began by apologizing for having to have a separate chapter in which to address women and careers, then emphasized that she would be addressing the reader who had "the stamina, the mentality and the desire to raise

herself from the average standard occupation." Fleischman encouraged her readers to look for the field in which a woman would have "the greatest outlet in it for her special abilities and predilections." She railed against what she called the "average employment-seeking attitude" that focused on weekly pay, weekly hours, and the character of the employer, calling this approach representative of "a slavish feminine state of mind" and noting that women "are usually unaware of their own value."[43]

Additionally, Fleischman, who did not have direct contact with her own firm's clients,[44] stressed that, while a woman needed to have the abilities required for the position she sought, she also had to "sell the idea that she is important in spite of her sex. . . . to overcome the inertia of her associates, as well as the prejudices of outside forces with which she must contend on behalf of her firm. . . . In other words her force must be doubled on any given problem." She warned readers that "an intelligent woman will remember this sex discrimination occasionally to make men forget it."[45]

In 1928, the same year Fleischman gave birth to their first child Anne, she published her own book, *An Outline of Careers for Women*.[46] Bernays described it as a companion work to his, with the same goal of serving as a resource on various careers, written by professionals (women only this time) who excelled in them.[47] Fleischman had a larger agenda, however. In addition to including the more traditional careers that Bernays had, such as accountancy, medicine, and social services, Fleischman also presented chapters in such areas as dietetics, industrial relations, politics, radio, railroading, and stock breeding. In so doing, she not only provided alternatives to traditional careers for women, but she illustrated the true range of work in which she found women succeeding. Both approaches expanded upon the themes she touched on in Bernays's book: that the same career opportunities were available to women as to men and that, in pursuing most any field, a woman could be assured of having a successful woman as her predecessor.

She wrote the chapter on public relations for her book, declaring that because the field was so new, "no traditions have grown against women's participation in it, and women will share the responsibility of developing and shaping this new profession."[48] She conveyed excitement and enthusiasm as she explained the responsibilities of a public relations counsel, the skills and training a woman needed, and even the disadvantages of the field, such as long hours, constant deadlines, and juggling many jobs at once. She was forthright in discussing pay, suggesting that women's earning power could increase quickly, commensurate with their abilities, with some eventually earning "several hundred thousand dollars" a year.[49]

However, Fleischman also addressed the particular issues and opportunities that women should expect to encounter in public relations and in other careers. "One might add here the necessity of facing intelligently the special problems that may confront women. . . . based on the definite amount

of prejudice that remains in many men's minds against the effectiveness of women in the commercial and industrial world. This is usually combatted [sic] by convincing men through intelligent handling of problems, and not by slaying the dragon of antifeminism." She explained that manufacturers were realizing the importance of women as consumers and that women were finding career opportunities by providing their viewpoints to business. "Women have scarcely begun to realize the possibilities open to them in commerce and industry. The demand for women of imagination, acumen, and practical judgment exceeds the present supply."[50] Thus, rather than promoting public relations, Fleischman used public relations to promote women's building of successful careers. Her success may be evident in the fact that this book was reissued three times between 1931 and 1939, a period when, despite the Depression, the clerical and service fields were expanding and women entered the labor force at twice the rate of men.[51]

Power and Position

In September 1929 she had daughter Doris.[52] This was the same year that the *Ladies' Home Journal* debuted a new department called "Women in Business." Its purpose was to inform women readers of the job opportunities, role models, and career options, both traditional and non-traditional, that were available to them. However, it began with a slow start until Fleischman provided direction with a three-part series on women and work, the first of which appeared in the January 1930 issue.[53]

In the first article of the series, Fleischman set the stage for the second two, in which she presented specific career options reminiscent of her 1928 book, *An Outline of Careers for Women.* However, her tone in this first article was much stronger than in her other published work to this point. She declared that women did not have "real ambition" because otherwise they would pursue the same goals as men, and she called women "jobslaves" because while millions of women worked, only a few pursued careers. Fleischman contended that women should approach work as men did, as a life career.[54]

She stated that women did not receive "their share either in earning power or position." Declaring that money symbolized power and success, and that men desired it, Fleischman said that women should desire it, too. She repeated her arguments from her 1927 chapter in Bernays's book: that women had to be better than the men they worked with to get the same recognition and that women had to convince people that they were good at what they did, despite being women. She called for women to take risks because that was how men got ahead, even though men also depended on their earnings and supported families. And she reminded women that mar-

riage might not relieve them from work, so that they should approach work with a definite plan that would increase their responsibilities, knowledge, and pay. "To work well," Fleischman advised, "a woman must love her work and must desire furiously to succeed in it."[55]

Such words raised the ire of the *New York Times*, which published an unsigned editorial condemning Fleischman for what it considered to be her condemnation of women in the *Ladies' Home Journal.* The *Times* argued that one-fifth of American workers were women and if they "can muster not a fifth but a fiftieth of the genuinely successful, they have a record to be proud of."[56] Ironically, on the same day, the *Times* published a story on the page preceding this editorial that reinforced many of Fleischman's points. Based on a recently released bulletin from the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, the story reported that daughters much more often than sons stayed home to care for family members, relinquishing marriage and careers, and that marriage, itself, was no longer a guarantee of economic security. Quoting the bulletin, the newspaper stated that the "'general custom of paying wages on the basis of sex is a relic of the dark ages' which is not only unjust but serves to further complicate the home problems for women."[57]

Regardless of such data, however, the reigning view was that women worked because they wanted extras or "pin money," not because they had to. As such, they were seen as competing for valuable jobs with men who truly needed them.[58] The country, just beginning its downward spiral toward the depths of the Depression, was not sympathetic to the challenges of working women.[59]

Yet, despite this national sentiment and the fact that the *Ladies' Home Journal* catered primarily to housewives, who would tend to support it, the magazine continued its series on "Women in Business," and ran Fleischman's two remaining articles in which she continued her advocacy for working women.[60] Although she devoted most of each piece to describing the demands and opportunities of various careers, she also reinforced in each one many of the same concerns voiced in the first article of the series as well as in her 1927 and 1928 book chapters. For instance, in her second article, she stated that women should choose a career as early as possible to avoid becoming trapped in an unfulfilling job and that they should do so by matching their desires and abilities with an "exhaustive study" of career options.[61]

In her third article, Fleischman declared, "Not a job, but a victorious career is the goal." She reported that while both men and women in industry faced inconvenient hours, crowded transportation, and trade competition, only women faced prejudice based on their sex. Fleischman also pointed out that male secretaries usually received more pay because they were perceived to be more valuable and were assumed to have a family to support, although many working women supported parents or younger siblings.[62]

By this time, advertisers and readers alike saw working women as threats, prompting many magazines to call for women to return home and yield their jobs to men.[63] In fact, a year and a half after Fleischman's work appeared in the *Ladies' Home Journal,* when the country was embarking upon the worst period of the Depression, the magazine hired Bernays to help them promote a solution to the crisis. Reflecting a revolutionary approach in economic theory in which it was contended that consumption would lead to production and, thus, economic recovery, the *Journal* sought to encourage women to spend as much as possible on their households and to aim for the highest possible standard of living.[64] This idea reinforced Fleischman's contention that business was recognizing the power of women as consumers; however, the campaign did not seem to address the crux of her series: the potential power of women who were, or could have been, working.

In and Out of the Home

As working women, especially married ones, were being denied jobs in favor of men, Fleischman returned to promoting the field of public relations to women.[65] In a February 1931 article for *Independent Woman,* a publication of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., she virtually recycled her 1928 book chapter.[66] Perhaps in deference to the national mood, however, she omitted her discussion on issues that women confronted in the work place. It is worthy to note that by 1941, in an article published in the same journal on the same subject, Fleischman updated her copy by citing high-ranking women in the profession but still included the paragraph from her 1928 chapter concerning the prejudice of men against working women.[67]

Fleischman then departed completely from public relations in a chapter she wrote for *America as Americans See It,* a 1932 book edited by Fred J. Ringel to explain Americans to Europeans.[68] In the company of such contributors as Upton Sinclair, W.E.B. DuBois, Clare Boothe Brokaw, and Edward Steichen, Fleischman dropped her emphasis on women and careers and returned to the focus of her *Tribune* days: issues concerning all working women. "Most women work in or out of the home, many of them in and out of the home, and working as they do, they shape and create America equally with their men." She addressed women and illegitimacy, illiteracy, education, and child labor ("over eight and a half million females over ten years of age—as the census so delicately puts it—are gainfully employed.") She described the work of a farm wife, the wife of a laborer, and the society wife. And she emphasized the power of women in this country who, as life insurance beneficiaries, "own or control about half of the national wealth of

the country," and who "make most of the retail purchases. . . . and vote in about the same proportion that men do."[69]

After publishing this work, Fleischman turned to an issue that she believed directly affected working women at the time, the increasing "disinclination of women and men to enter domestic service." She believed that the longer women had to work at home because they had no outside help, the more likely they would be to lose their own identities as women and become identified simply as housekeepers and child-rearers. Additionally, she saw the undesirability of domestic work as a reflection of how little society valued the work performed by women in the home and, so, Fleischman felt, the women, themselves.[70]

She pursued these concerns at a 1939 conference on household employment, sponsored by the Domestic Workers Union Local 149 of the Building Service Employees International Union.[71] Fleischman was especially interested in pay issues, because she had found that even high wages did not lure people into domestic work.[72] She sent inquiries to and received responses from the Committee on Workmen's Compensation for Household Employees, the New York Placement Association, and the Workmen's Compensation Board of New York State. She also received a report on "Household Wage Sampling" from the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor.[73] The preliminary result of this work was a 1946 article for *McCall's Magazine*, although, as it will be seen, it is clear that the results of her research were still fresh in her mind when she began *A Wife is Many Women* three years later.[74]

Necessity and Circumstance

By 1949, Fleischman was fifty-seven years old. Her daughters were twenty-one and twenty. She had been married for twenty-seven years and had been working for the public relations firm for thirty years. She had lived through two world wars and a depression, and she had witnessed the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. The labor shortage during World War II had made the idea of working women, even married working women, acceptable to the mainstream after the war. But equity was still an issue and Susan B. Anthony IV wrote about the "crack-up" of the woman's movement.[75] This seems to have been a period of reflection for Fleischman, when she rethought some of her earlier feminist ideas and renewed her commitment to others.

Her 1949 article, "Notes of a Retiring Feminist," related her experiences of keeping her own name and announced her desire to take Bernays's.[76] Her byline for the story was "Doris E. Fleischman (Bernays)." While much of the article took a light-hearted tone, describing the mix-ups and obstacles

in being a married "Miss," other parts were rather poignant. Fleischman explained that she and the other women of her time who had kept their names had "grasped for a symbol—a name—instead of developing personalities of our own." She noted that, regardless of the names they chose, they had behaved as other women did, baking, bearing children, and deferring to husbands; " . . . we flirted, we smiled, we concealed pain like other women, whether or not we walked big in the business and professional world." Fleischman had thought that keeping her own name meant she would keep her own personality; instead, she confessed, " . . . Mrs. stands to the right of me, and Miss stands to the left. Me is a ghost ego somewhere in the middle." Over time, keeping her name was an exercise in "pseudo-independence" because, she wrote, it was "the actions of women and the attitudes of men towards them that determine a woman's status." She acknowledged that exchanging "Miss Fleischman" for "Mrs. Bernays" might be seen by a few as selling out, but it would not, Fleischman said, change her "inner life."[77]

Fleischman's reflections continued as she began to organize her thoughts for *A Wife is Many Women*, a book that Bernays told Susan Henry he had urged Fleischman to write "'because I felt she had a record that was worth preserving.'"[78] Fleischman began the book in 1949, was rejected by her first publisher in 1950, and then rejected or discouraged by four more publishers over the next two years. Crown Publishers eventually signed her in 1954.[79]

In her precis for Crown, it is clear that Fleischman saw this book as a forum in which to address the ideas that she had been formulating throughout her adult lifetime: issues confronting women at work and in the home. She wrote that she wanted to serve as a "spokesman for the millions of women who enter the job of marriage without training." And she wanted to show that "while men work 40 hours a week and then give themselves over to golf, poker, sex and Sunday painting, women concentrate on losing status 14 hours a day, 7 days a week." Fleischman felt that by examining the activities of a housewife, she could help "differentiate between a woman and her traditional duties."[80]

And she did. On women, work, and home, she stated that the question of whether women should combine careers and home was moot, that it had been resolved by necessity and circumstance over time. However, regardless of their professions, women's time at work was added to the time they were expected to spend on home and family. Fleischman wrote, "Mother's generation worked seriously at home-making. But they must have considered it inferior work, because they encouraged us to avoid it."[81]

On issues of pay, bolstered by her research of the previous decade, Fleischman contended that if a wage-hour scale was developed for housewives, men might find that their household cost them more than they earned. She emphasized that women "do not get equal pay for equal work, or equal opportunity, or equal advancement"; that, while men hated the concept of

women working outside the home, they enjoyed the benefits of the extra income; and that women who worked outside the home were compensated for their efforts, while women who worked inside the home were not. Fleischman added that pregnancy was an issue that affected personnel policies in absenteeism, turnover, training, health benefits, and equal pay for equal work.[82]

In terms of her own situation, Fleischman reported three reactions when people visited her office at the firm she and Bernays built, "they worry about a threat to male supremacy, then they fret about the sanctity of the home, and then they shudder about neglected children."[83]

Bucking the Barrier

While Fleischman was writing and revising *A Wife is Many Women*, she was invited to help revive the Lucy Stone League. In a letter to Fleischman, Jane Grant, one of the original founders of the League in 1921, explained, "since the new enthusiasm appears to be due to your much discussed piece ["Notes of a Retiring Feminist"]. . . . If you really have thrown in the sponge, you might be interested in helping those who do not wish to do so."[84] The League was expanding upon its original mission and began to sponsor scholarships to institutions that admitted women to their law, medicine, and business schools, to organize and support memorial libraries, and to maintain research archives on the status of women.[85] Fleischman accepted Grant's invitation four days later, and soon Bernays had developed a public relations plan for the new 5,000-member Lucy Stone League.[86]

In the summer of 1951, the League issued a news release quoting Fleischman, its new vice president, as saying that 18 million American working women were threatening the economy because their lower wages tended to depress all wages and threatened standards of living. The story was carried by at least four newspapers.[87]

As chair of the League's conference committee in March 1952, Fleischman was invited by Frieda S. Miller, director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, to attend a "national conference on equal pay."[88] The *Washington Post* reported that the conference advocated the use of education and publicity to encourage women to have more faith in their abilities so that they could be more self-assured in demanding equal pay for equal work. Additionally, the *Post* reported that women's lifetime earnings peaked at about the same amount that men earned when they were still in their early 20s.[89]

Although Fleischman resigned from the League in November 1952, she continued her research on women and pay at least through 1957, main-

taining contact with the Women's Bureau, the American Association of University Women, and the National Committee for Equal Pay, among others.[90]

Another club Fleischman rejoined in the '50s was The Woman Pays Club. Led by Caroline K. Simon, who became New York's Secretary of State under Governor Nelson Rockefeller, the purpose of the club was "to provide a time and place for the meeting of women of similar professional and artistic interests," although Fleischman's interest in working women was evident here, as well.[91] In 1959, United Press International covered a club meeting in which four professional women (a decorator, an obstetrician, a theater producer, and a lawyer) discussed the challenges that they faced as women in their industries. The story quoted Fleischman as saying, "'Bucking the barrier of men is done only on an individual basis. It's unfortunate that women who have gone far forget the struggle they had, and that there are other women who still can't get by the barrier. There's a psychological handicap as well as a tangible handicap in having responsibility at home and in a career. Women need to help each other.'"[92]

Cambridge

Fleischman was elected president of The Woman Pays Club in 1960, but in 1961 she and Bernays moved to Cambridge so that he could finish his book, *Biography of an Idea: The Memoirs of Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations*. He seemed to have planned this as a permanent move, although it is not clear that she did, judging from her 1962 resignation letter from the club, in which she wrote, ". . . it looks as if my stay in Cambridge would be prolonged . . ."[93] Yet Fleischman, who was 69 years old by this time, continued her commitment to working women through her membership in Theta Sigma Phi, the professional society for women in journalism and communications.

Fleischman joined Theta Sigma Phi in 1971 and was quite dedicated to its membership, many of whom were women seeking to return to journalism careers after leaving work to raise families.[94] She provided "support, understanding, and stimulation" and used her professional experience to provide advice and guidance, even helping them get jobs.[95] In a speech she gave to them that fall, Fleischman advised that a professional had to know what she wanted and that women's problems were the same as men's, "only more so."[96]

Theta Sigma Phi became Women in Communications in 1972 and presented Fleischman with its national "Headliner Award" that year, along with Helen Thomas of UPI and author Eudora Welty, among others.[97] In her awards speech, Fleischman emphasized what had become familiar themes

for her: that women needed a planned course of action for their lives and careers; that although most women worked at home and had a career, "we still lack many vital rights and privileges of full citizens in a free society"; that women needed "equality before the law, equal pay and opportunity for equal work, equal education and career options"; and that there was "no hope for us as long as we continue to waste ourselves on tasks that are not genetically imposed on us" because "most of our tasks are enforced by societal pressures, customs and miseducation."[98]

In an interview with the *Houston Chronicle* published the day before the awards ceremony, Fleischman insisted that she did not identify with the renewed feminist movement of the time, despite her own convictions. She voiced her concerns about the apparent return of women to the kitchen and the absence of women in labor unions and in important government positions but contended that "feminists . . . waste a lot of their energy on hating men. 'These women are in the same class with a great many shoe designers who make the most ugly and uncomfortable and impossible shoes because they hate women.'" Additionally, Fleischman reportedly thought feminist books "boring," saying that she could not identify with many of the authors. Still, she told the *Chronicle*, "'My husband is a feminist and I am a feminist and we get along beautifully because I obey him all of the time.'"[99] These seeming contradictions reflected the stance that took shape and gelled in *A Wife is Many Women*: Fleischman avowed her commitment to feminism but then declared her obedience to Bernays.

In one of her last acts in addressing the issues of women, work, and home, Fleischman helped develop two national competitions to publicize issues of equal pay at work and at home, both of which were sponsored in part by the Edward L. Bernays Foundation. The first competition, announced in 1974 and co-sponsored by Women In Communications, Inc., solicited the "'best plan to aid women in communications in achieving parity with men in opportunity for advancement, remuneration and other recognition for equal merit.'" The second competition, announced in 1977 and co-sponsored by Babson College, solicited a "'practical program to achieve economic justice for American homemakers.'"[100]

Fleischman died in 1980, one week before her eighty-eighth birthday. She was an active, interesting, and interested woman. She was a wife, a business partner, a mother, a pioneer, and, most of all, an advocate for working women. She was a successful public relations executive—among the first in the country—but that was not her mission. If her work throughout her adult lifetime is examined, a solid set of artifacts can be found that reveal a consistent set of messages and themes addressing the issues women confront at work and at home. Fleischman's true mission was to reveal "what woman is. . . . what she wants and . . . what she does."[101]

Endnotes

1 Fleischman published under three names during her lifetime: "Doris E. Fleischman," "Doris E. Fleischman (Bernays)," and "Doris Fleischman Bernays." The citations here use the name under which she published the referenced work. Although she died as Doris Fleischman Bernays, she published and practiced public relations as Doris E. Fleischman for more than half her life, so, to avoid confusion, that is the name used in this article.

2 Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936), 622, as cited in Keith A. Larson's *Public Relations, the Edward L. Bernayses and the American Scene: A Bibliography* (Westwood, MA: F.W. Faxon Company, Inc., 1978), 695.

3 Edward L. Bernays, *Biography of an Idea: Memoirs of Public Relations Counsel Edward L. Bernays* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965), 211-212; and Doris Fleischman Bernays, *A Wife is Many Women* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1955), 170.

4 Doris Fleischman Bernays papers, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America [hereafter: DFB, Schlesinger], carton 1, box 14 ("Precis for Virginia Soskin, Crown Publishers, Inc. on *A Wife is Many Women*").

5 Examples can be found in: Scott M. Cutlip, *The Unseen Power: Public Relations. A History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994); Stuart Ewan, *PR! A Social History of Spin* (New York: Basic Books, 1996); and Hiley H. Ward, *Mainstreams of American Media History* (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 1997). Also, compare the number of references to Bernays and to Fleischman in the context of public relations publications in Larson's *The Edward L. Bernayses.*

6 Susan Henry, "Dissonant Notes of a Retiring Feminist: Doris E. Fleischman's Later Years," *Journal of Public Relations Research* 10, no. 1 (1998): 55.

7 DFB, Schlesinger, carton 1, file 32 (Unpublished notes on *A Wife is Many Women,* "Double Your Partner" chapter).

8 Henry, "Dissonant Notes"; Susan Henry, "Anonymous in Her Own Name, Public Relations Pioneer Doris E. Fleischman," *Journalism History* 23, no. 2 (1997); and Susan Henry, "'There Is Nothing in This Profession ... That a Woman Cannot Do': Doris E. Fleischman and the Beginnings of Public Relations," *American Journalism* 16, no. 2 (1999).

9 Henry, "Dissonant Notes," 4-5.

10 Ibid., 5.

11 Ibid., 4.

12 Ibid., 29 (note 17).

13 Cutlip, *Unseen Power,* 169-170.

14 D.F. Bernays, *Wife,* 167. There is a great deal to explore concerning the professional and personal relationship between Fleischman and Bernays. Because Bernays is mentioned here only in the context of Fleischman's work, it should not be construed that the complexity of their relationship has been disregarded, only that this subject is beyond the scope of this article.

15 Cutlip, *Unseen Power,* 169.

16 D.F. Bernays, *Wife,* 167-168.

17 Ibid., 169; Cutlip, *Unseen Power,* 169.

18 D.F. Bernays, *Wife,* 169.

19 Rosalind Rosenberg, *Divided Lives: American Women in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 67.

20 Ibid., 65.

21 Robert L. Daniel, *American Women in the 20th Century: The Festival of Life* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1987), 38-40.

22 See Larson's *The Edward L. Bernayses,* 681-689; and DFB, Schlesinger, carton 1, files 2-3.

23 "The Minimum Wage Agitation Doesn't Distress Working Girl Residents of Varick House"*New York Tribune,* 9 February 1915. The *Tribune* articles cited here were found as clips in DFB, Schlesinger, carton 1, files 2-3; some of the corresponding dates and most of the page numbers included here were obtained from Larson's *The Edward L. Bernayses,* 681-689.

24 "The Working Girl's Vacation on a Paying Basis," *New York Tribune,* 20 June 1915, Section IV, 12.

25 "Saying Family Life is Mainly Sentimentalism and Baby's Place on a Farm, Rosalie Jones Turns Herself to the Automobile Business," *New York Tribune,* 12 February 1915.

26 "Unless Social and Economic Conditions Change We Must Choose Between Women's Intellect and Her Children is a Woman Scientist's Challenge," *New York Tribune,* 26 February 1915, 7.

27 "Because Fathers are Indifferent the World is Full of Half-Orphans, Declares Dr. Wile, Advocate of Parents' Meetings," *New York Tribune,* 9 April 1915, 7.

28 Henry, "Anonymous," 60 (note 13); and D.F. Bernays, *Wife,* 169.

29 Henry, "Anonymous," 60 (note 13); and Edward L. Bernays, ed., *An Outline of Careers* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927) inside chapter cover page, 423.

30 E.L. Bernays, *Biography,* 193.

31 Ibid., 188-200.

32 "Woman Ex-War Worker: Her Problem One of Readjustment Rather Than of Mere Re-employment," *New York Times,* 12 January 1920, Section XXX.

33 Ibid.

34 William Henry Chafe, *The American Woman, Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 49; For details on Fleischman's work with Bernays between 1919 and 1922, see Henry, "There is Nothing."

35 Henry, "Anonymous," 54.

36 E.L. Bernays, *Biography,* 217.

37 DFB, Schlesinger, carton 1, file 39 ("What is the Lucy Stone League?").

38 DFB, Schlesinger, carton 1, file 39 ("Origin of Lucy Stone League").

39 E.L. Bernays, *Biography,* 217.

40 Ibid., 291.

41 Ibid., 295.

42 E.L. Bernays, *Careers,* introduction, vi.

43 Doris E. Fleischman, "Concerning Women," in *An Outline of Careers,*, ed. Edward L. Bernays (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927), 423-424, 426.

44 DFB, Schlesinger, carton 1, file 25 (Unpublished notes for *A Wife is Many Women*).

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The Great White Father and the Antichrist: *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter* as Cultural History

by Robert L. Kerr

This study of Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter *offers insight into the cultural significance of an institutional newsletter. From 1947 to 1963, the* Football Letter *consistently articulated an idealistic vision of college football as a metaphorical realm where wholesome warriors strive for collective progress. Wilkinson saw that vision validated early in his coaching career, then challenged in later years. He was able to dismiss the most prominent rebel, but not the future.*

Although Bud Wilkinson achieved fame in his day by winning football games in record numbers at the University of Oklahoma between 1947 and 1964, the coach also practiced a journalism of sorts by publishing a newsletter of opinion and analysis during that period.[1] While *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter* served a vital public relations function, it also represented football in terms reflecting cultural ideals of obedience and selflessness. However, those ideals would clash with the arrival of a more individualistic era in sport and society, embodied dramatically by Wilkinson's 1963 confrontation with an anti-hero halfback named Joe Don Looney.

In the vein of George Harvey Sage's call for researchers to "study sport as a cultural practice embedded in political, economic, and ideological formations," this research examines the *Football Letter*'s "relationship to the broader stream of societal forces of which it [was] a part."[2] This study joins the contention of Judy Polumbaum and Stephen Wieting that "mining sports stories for nuance, background, contradiction, and complication is a pro-

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ductive way to study the prevalent 'moral order' of a given community . . . and the ways this order gets embodied and conveyed."[3] Michael Oriard has described the significant role played by the popular press in making college football "a powerful cultural text" in America during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century and has asserted the usefulness of tracing the history of various football narratives that developed later in the twentieth century, including "the prosperous but anxious 1950s."[4]

Such narratives may reflect the ways that individuals and institutions sought to construct or reconstruct events in terms of cultural ideals of the era and to create "systems of meaning, and standards of reality shared by writer and audience."[5] Emphasizing John Pauly's treatment of qualitative sampling as "a narrative dilemma," and Robert Darnton's assertion that "the social dimension of thought" may be discovered by "passing from text to context and back again," qualitative content analysis was utilized to compare significant themes from the *Football Letter* with those of contemporary newspaper accounts.[6] This reflects Oriard's conceptualization of football as a "multiply interpreted cultural text" through which the secondary texts of media representations "generate a range of interpretive possibilities"—but not a "single dominant discourse."[7] Thus, this study makes no claim of finality or certainty in its interpretation, which itself represents a text—one that seeks to discover and describe the making of meaning, rather than to test for causality.[8]

College Football as Public Relations Instrument

One crucial element in making sense of the *Football Letter* is placing it in the well-established historical context of college football's public relations function. College football has been described as "the main instrument of public relations for institutions of higher education" beginning as early as the 1890s; "the principal means by which alumni, public relations professionals, and fund-raisers gained control of American college life;" and "a grotesquely important agent of public relations for many universities" to this day.[9]

Throughout its century or so of existence, American college football has often come under intense criticism and pressure, even to the point of demands for its abolition.[10] Wilkinson's *Football Letter* fits into a long tradition, dating back at least to the 1880s, in which football's spokespersons sought to imbue football with qualities more socially palatable (and marketable) than the essentially brutal struggle at its core. Walter Camp, a nineteenth-century Yale star who introduced coaching to the game and was its most successful early promoter, published twenty books and countless newspaper and magazine articles, with emphasis on the "purity" of the college

football star who "plays as a gentleman. . . . Whatever bruises he may have in the flesh, his heart is right."[11]

Historically, such representations or interpretations of college football have involved team spokespersons whose "power to determine their readers' understanding resided in the issues they raised and the ways they framed them."[12] As a public relations vehicle, the *Football Letter* reflects Wilkinson's efforts to communicate with his audience in terms he perceived as relevant to that audience's cultural values. Especially in the early years of the *Football Letter*, its emphasis on self-sacrifice in the name of team progress dovetailed with the formative wartime experience of both Wilkinson and his newsletter audience, most of whom had just returned from World War II service at the time Wilkinson began his coaching career at Oklahoma.

'We Knew We Had to Obey the Man at the Top'

Before serving as a hangar deck officer on the aircraft carrier *U.S.S. Enterprise* and participating in a series of grueling Pacific island battles, including Iwo Jima and Okinawa, Wilkinson was assigned to the U.S. Navy's V-5 Preflight Program. There the Navy developed a training model that featured a strong athletics component designed to prepare young pilot trainees for the intense physical demands of flying military aircraft.

Donald Rominger's research documents how military leaders worked with coaches and athletic administrators to structure the V-5 program. It was conceptualized by Naval Undersecretary James Forrestal; Captain Arthur Radford, commander for naval aeronautic training; and Lt. Commander Thomas J. Hamilton, a carrier pilot and former head football coach at the U.S. Naval Academy: "Hamilton's program used team sports and physical training to generate desirable psychological attitudes and group loyalties. . . . In short, men were to be trained for war through sport. Hamilton made football a fundamental ingredient in the V-5 syllabus." Rominger also described the Preflight Program as utilizing sport's "mystique of controlled conflict," as well as Wilkinson later employing "paramilitary style V-5 tactics" to train his Oklahoma teams.[13]

This program included the fielding of military football teams to play against college teams. While assigned there, Wilkinson worked with several coaches who would be highly successful in college football after the war, including Jim Tatum, Paul "Bear" Bryant, and Don Faurot. The coaches who served in preflight training applied many components of the preflight program to their postwar college football programs.

Most of Wilkinson's early players were fellow WWII veterans. "We'd all been to war, and we knew we had to obey the man at the top," said guard Stan West.[14] One of Wilkinson's first star athletes was lineman Dee Andros,

who had landed in the second wave of Marines at Iwo Jima and had won a Bronze Star for helping attack Japanese gun emplacements there.[15] In Wilkinson's first season as head coach, his rosrer featured some twenty-eight World War II veterans, including at least three Purple Heart recipients. In addition to Wilkinson, his four full-time assistant coaches and two part-time assistant coaches were all World War II veterans. Six of that group of players with wartime service would make All-American at Oklahoma.

In stark contrast, one of Wilkinson's last All-Americans was Joe Don Looney, an unruly hedonist who spent his days on the Oklahoma team capriciously defying Wilkinson. When Looney was dismissed from the team in 1963, *The Daily Oklahoman* made it the lead story on its front page. Though he played only a little more than one season at Oklahoma, and only sporadically in professional football later, Looney's anti-hero antics contributed to a popular following that continued even after his death in 1988 in a motorcycle accident.[16]

Late in his own life, Wilkinson expressed frustration over the attention paid Looney: "After my years at Oklahoma, people would always ask me about Looney. People like Billy Vessels and Eddie Crowder [players of the early 1950s who both achieved more athletically and behaved better than Looney] would be ignored completely. I just don't want to talk about Looney."[17]

Looney's arrival on the scene foreshadowed "the abandonment of the Frank Merriwell model of gee-whiz modesty for the pervasive finger-pointing, fist-pumping, elaborately choreographed antics" that soon would come to dominate American sport.[18] "Joe Don heralded a coming tidal wave of irreverent, outspoken athlete-individuals," asserted Looney's biographer, J. Brent Clark.[19] Former University of Oklahoma sports information director Mike Treps said Wilkinson's disapproval of Looney's behavior could not be overstated. For Wilkinson, Treps said, "Joe Don was the antichrist."[20]

'More Like a Poet than a Punter'

In the 1940s, "Oklahomans had a mass inferiority complex and pictured themselves as creatures out of *The Grapes of Wrath*," wrote George Lynn Cross, University of Oklahoma president from 1943 to 1968.[21] Cross and other Oklahoma observers have said that the popular image of Depression and Dustbowl failures was magnified by *The Grapes of Wrath*, John Steinbeck's Pulitzer Prize winning 1939 novel, and the 1940 Oscar-nominated film based on the book.[22]

Wilkinson's hiring, in fact, resulted from the university board of regents' 1946 conceptualization of football victories as therapy for what they assessed as *Grapes*-damaged self-esteem. "One regent suggested that many

Oklahomans seemed to feel apologetic about the state, an attitude perhaps engendered by the continuing impact of John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*. Someone wondered whether the university could do something to help with this problem." To that end, regent Lloyd Noble suggested a concerted effort to acquire World War II veterans with college football talent and eligibility "to produce some outstanding football teams in which the citizens of the state could take pride."[23] The regents resolved that Cross should conduct a search for a coach skilled at recruiting elite armed-services athletes. The coach who was hired (Tatum) brought Wilkinson with him as his top assistant. Tatum left after one year, at which time Wilkinson was promoted to head coach.

Charles Burnham "Bud" Wilkinson was a quiet thirty-one year old, born on Easter Sunday in 1916. He had grown up in a conservative, upper middle-class family in Minneapolis, starred on three national championship football teams as an undergraduate at the University of Minnesota, and then worked as an assistant coach at Syracuse University while completing a master's degree in English. His demeanor contradicted traditional coaching imagery: "The Oklahoma Sooners . . . are the only team in football with a head coach who looks more like a poet than a punter. Bud Wilkinson looks like he got lost on the way to a Browning lecture," *Los Angeles Times* sports columnist Jim Murray wrote.[24] Wilkinson actually did write poetry for his wife, read Shakespeare "just for the fun of it," and played the organ to relax.[25] Wilkinson's players often called him "the Great White Father," partly for his prematurely gray hair, partly for his patriarchal presence.[26]

Wilkinson's mother died when he was seven, from injuries suffered in a train accident. Throughout Wilkinson's youth, his father was the dominant influence in his life. Charles Patton Wilkinson, known as C. P., was a successful mortgage broker "who believed in neatness, order and self-discipline," sent his son to military school at the age of 13, and taught him that "life was tough and a positive outlook was essential for overcoming disappointments and disillusionments."[27]

'Someone Who Was Good With the Press'

Wilkinson took the Oklahoma football program through what some sportswriters consider "the most successful stretch of seasons college football has yet seen. . . . Football was overtly converted from one of many campus activities . . . to *the* state institution."[28] Over the span of the eleven seasons from 1948 through 1958, Wilkinson's best years, Oklahoma lost only nine of 117 games, while winning three national championships.

The era generated intense media interest in University of Oklahoma football, and Wilkinson proved highly skilled at media relations.[29] Darrell

Royal, an Oklahoma player from 1946 through 1949, describing how he later used Wilkinson's methods as a model in his own coaching career, recalled Wilkinson as "someone who was good with the press. I read every word that he said to the press, and I listened to the radio interviews, and I traveled with him to some banquets. I had an excellent teacher."[30] Volney Meece, a sportswriter who covered Oklahoma football for *The Daily Oklahoman* during the Wilkinson years, remembered, "'Bud was great with the press. . . . At his house after the games, before all the boosters would get there . . . he'd be in the kitchen mixing drinks and telling us what really happened in the game, so we could write a story and look like the experts we weren't. . . . You could paraphrase anything he said and make it look like you knew what the hell happened.'"[31]

Despite such influence with reporters, Wilkinson apparently was not willing to leave representations of his football program solely to commercial news media of the era. In 1947, he became the first coach at Oklahoma to publish a weekly newsletter of his own—"an experiment," Wilkinson described it.[32] *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter* was mailed to members of the university's alumni association each week during the football season. "There was no television show when he started, no radio network as we know it now. So the newsletter was one of the few ways he had to reach anybody and everybody connected with OU football around the country," Treps recalled.[33]

'Insight the Newspapers May Have Missed'

The first issue of *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter* appeared on 30 September 1947. Wilkinson introduced it as "the first of ten weekly letters I am going to write to you" for that season and promised "to describe each game Oklahoma plays fully and frankly, trying to give you an insight the newspapers may have missed."[34] From the start, the *Football Letter* employed the dominant themes that would be maintained in future newsletters, especially the value of "fighting spirit," wholesomeness, and collective effort. "Bud moralized a lot," Treps said of the *Football Letter*. "If you read through the letters, there is always in the background, between the lines, sometimes right out front, where he would preach one of the beliefs he had. . . . He would sermonize a lot, maybe just a line or two. But there was always something that could be used as a "sermon" topic, if indeed you wanted to call it that."[35]

Throughout the time he published the *Football Letter*, Wilkinson regularly made use of the language and imagery of combat to characterize the kind of effort he prized from his players. He would describe a key moment in a game as "the battle's turning point,"[36] and express his pride in "the cold, determined fury with which our team kept attacking."[37] "Right from the start, we attacked. . . . our blockers doing their duty savagely . . . in a

fighting mood. . . ."[38] Wilkinson would even celebrate an opposing team's cheerleaders for exhibiting "red-blooded fighting spirit."[39]

A few decades before, college football had almost been banned for its brutality and other abuses.[40] However, in Wilkinson's representations of the game, he cast his warriors as wholesome emissaries. "It has been a pleasure to coach such a clean, level-headed group of boys. . . . I have never seen a team that played the game with so much furious enjoyment," he said after the 1949 season.[41] In 1955, he observed, "If the fans would pattern their sportsmanship after that of the players themselves, the game would come much nearer to fulfilling the purpose for which it was created, a clean robust autumnal sport for college men."[42]

Wilkinson applauded friend and foe alike who contributed to "the sportsmanship under which college football should and usually is played."[43] And when his own supporters failed to hold true to that standard, he reprimanded them, noting, "The purpose of every competition is to test yourself, not embarrass your opponent."[44] In the *Football Letter*, both fighting spirit and sportsmanship were essential components of a greater whole. Wilkinson constructed representations of a collective ideal in which everyone involved contributed significantly toward the common goal: "a triumph for our whole squad, every man of which unstintingly poured out every pound of his strength and courage to achieve it."[45]

Wilkinson's collective vision extended to his opponents. The more lopsided his team's victories, the greater lengths to which he went to praise the opponent's effort. After one 58-0 victory, he wrote: "Coach Ralph Graham's Wildcats . . . pluckily carried it to us."[46] After a 48-0 victory: "Nebraska was as well-coached and smartly-handled as any club we have met all season."[47] After a 47-7 victory: "The score of our Missouri game is most misleading."[48] After a 65-0 victory: "I don't believe we are as good as the score indicates nor that Kansas is that poor a team."[49] After a 40-0 victory: "The Cyclones had so much continuity of attack that they originated three more scrimmage plays than we did, 73 to 70."[50]

Nor did Wilkinson limit his praise of opponents to coaches and players, extending it to fans, cheerleaders, marching bands, even groundskeepers: "The Missouri athletic authorities deserve great credit for rolling eight inches of snow off the field in the form of great snowballs only two days before the game."[51] An opponent might lose 30-7, but Wilkinson would commend the way "the Nebraska people had skillfully protected the turf with their field cover."[52]

In the *Football Letter*, however, Wilkinson never commented on such matters as the University of Oklahoma twice being placed on probation by the National Collegiate Athletic Association during his time as coach.[53] In 1955, a two-year probation was imposed for athletes receiving excessive financial assistance,[54] and in 1960, an indefinite probation that ultimately

lasted one year was imposed regarding questions about a fund used to recruit athletes.[55]

'An Entirely Different Bunch of Guys'

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, more college football teams reached parity with Oklahoma, particularly within its conference.[56] Oklahoma did not lose a single conference game during Wilkinson's first twelve seasons, 1947-58. Then during the 1959-61 period, it lost nine conference games. Cross, the university president at that time, attributed that partly to pressure from the NCAA on Oklahoma during the two probations, making recruitment of top athletes more difficult at Oklahoma, at least temporarily.[57] In the memory of one Oklahoma player, lineman Byron Searcy, from that period, it also represented the beginnings of another trend, perhaps more portentous for Wilkinson:

> We had a simple existence. . . . If Bud said something, we believed him; we did it. We didn't question him. . . . I saw in '57 an entirely different bunch of guys and it began a whole different era for Bud in dealing with the boys. There were guys on that team who questioned; they didn't see the importance of discipline. . . . I just can't imagine there being a situation like that [Wilkinson's earlier teams] again because kids today are too independent. They're going to do their own thing.[58]

In 1959, Oklahoma lost three games in one season for the first time in the Wilkinson era, including the first conference loss of his then thirteen-year career. The next season produced Wilkinson's first (and only) losing season at Oklahoma. In 1961, Oklahoma hit the lowest point of the Wilkinson era, losing its first five games. However, the Wilkinson mystique was revived when the team won its remaining five contests. The late-season success of 1961 continued in 1962 as Oklahoma won eight games and earned its final postseason bowl-game appearance of Wilkinson's career.

However, 1962 also began the Joe Don Looney era at Oklahoma. Looney represented a departure from the obedient, "Frank Merriwell model" athletes Wilkinson had always prized. Although he was an All-American running back on the field, the self-absorbed Looney's off-the-field violence bordered on the sociopathic.[59] He was an obsessive streetfighter who kept an elaborate gun collection in his dorm room at OU, the fourth college he had attended in three years.[60] Crowder, then an Oklahoma assistant coach, reported that Looney "had a negative reaction to the team concept."[61] Wilkinson "felt Looney was the complete antithesis of the kind of athlete he

wanted on his team—somebody who paid attention to academics, who wanted to be a good citizen, got along with his team."[62]

An Anti-Establishment Prototype

In a time when the rise of anti-establishment figures such as Elvis Presley and Marlon Brando increasingly was reflected in the popular culture of television, music, and film, Looney provided a prototype for behavior soon to become more common in sport as well. That behavior may have been shaped at least partially by the culturally explosive social forces beginning to brew in the 1950s.[63] David Halberstam has called the era one in which social ferment was developing beneath a "placid surface," and a period in which the rapid proliferation of television began a process that would "alter the political and social fabric of the country, with stunning consequences."[64] Recent popular media have distorted the 1950s as "a simple, sunny era . . . of fun and innocence, a soda-shop world."[65] However, the period more accurately has been described as "a time of significant social and cultural transition" and "the vital preface to the cultural revolution of the sixties."[66]

Amid Cold War tensions, Americans experienced unprecedented affluence during a decade in which the gross national product doubled, and unemployment virtually disappeared.[67] Although the nation had known times of prosperity and mass consumption long before the postwar era, its skyrocketing level of affluence stands in marked contrast to the consumer deprivations of the Great Depression in the 1930s and the war years of the first half of the 1940s, during which Wilkinson and many of his early players were coming of age. For Halberstam, the period "represented a prosperity beyond [American's] wildest dreams."[68] That prosperity allowed Americans to purchase an "endless bounty of goods . . . with an apparently limitless supply of consumer credit."[69] Americans bought record numbers of homes, automobiles, and televisions—especially televisions. There were only 7,000 television sets in use in the United States in 1946, but more than 50 million by 1960.[70]

Movies reflected increasingly popular themes of individualistic antiheroism: Brando as leader of a rampaging motorcycle gang in 1954's *The Wild One*; James Dean as a troubled middle-class teen-ager in 1955's *Rebel Without a Cause*; and juvenile delinquency and rock-and-roll coalescing in *Blackboard Jungle* the same year. The mid '50s also saw the phenomenal rise of Presley, who received his first exposure to most Americans in their own living rooms—via television. To the parents of youth who idolized Presley, he represented "a bad dream personified" and a "culturally subversive influence."[71] The Beats—social and intellectual rebels centered in San Francisco challenged middle-class, conformist values and became role

models for "disillusionment and alienation . . . vagrancy as virtue . . . [and] a mystical search for salvation."[72]

Such individuals and themes stood in contrast to those embracing the family-oriented, middle-class conformity that was so prevalent—at least on the surface—across the landscape of 1950s popular culture. Similarly, Looney represented contrast with the prevailing culture of sport.[73] "Looney was just a complete rebel. He had so much talent, and yet if you told him to do something, he would do it and then not understand why he had to do it again. Part of Bud's philosophy was to do something over and over until you no longer had to think about it," Treps recalled.[74] "The chill winds of change were blowing across college athletics at that time, even though the boys weren't really aware of it. Kids were starting to think for themselves," Clark observed.[75]

Looney's early 1960s' popularity hinted at the coming cultural and commercial appeal of the anti-establishment athlete. Since at least early in the twentieth century, athletes had been marketed through consumer media as celebrities and their popularity utilized to promote products.[76] At first, such images resonated of the "Frank Merriwell model." However, as societal interests shifted and the youth culture rose in influence, imagery associating celebrity athletes with rebellion would become more marketable. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, this trend would reach critical mass through irreverent, individualistic athletes such as quarterback Joe Namath.

One Full Season Together

Wilkinson and Looney survived one full season (1962) together. Wilkinson recorded his best record in four years, and Looney made national headlines, beginning with his first game. Several accounts have reported that with Oklahoma trailing Syracuse 3-0 and less than three minutes to play in the game, Looney suddenly approached Wilkinson and said something to the effect of (the quote varies somewhat from version to version): "Put me in, Coach, and I'll win the game."[77]

Whatever was said, Looney did enter the game at that point and delivered a sixty-yard, game-winning touchdown run. In the subsequent issue of the *Football Letter*, Looney's run was described with arguably the single most effusive account of an individual performance that Wilkinson ever published in his newsletter:

> Monte Deere, our quarterback, ran the option and pitched to Joe Don Looney. Dennis Ward, our left tackle, blocked the end out; John Flynn, our left end, cut down the linebacker as Joe Don turned up field. Their two Syracuse tacklers appeared to be in perfect position to tackle. They

hit Looney. He seemed to be engulfed by their Orange and Blue jerseys and apparently stopped.

But Joe Don was fired by that most priceless of all football qualities—determination. He somehow fought out of their clutches, stumbling but refusing to go down. Running with tremendous power he suddenly found himself free. Racing down our east sideline he turned on all his speed and with our crowd of 54,000 standing on tiptoe, roaring encouragement, he ran 60 yards to the game's winning touchdown. It was as fine an exhibition of power ball-carrying as I have seen in many years.[78]

Although Wilkinson placed the touchdown run in some perspective to other players' contributions to it, the emphasis was focused on Looney's individual effort. It is possible this passage reflects an attempted gesture of concession by Wilkinson to the rising ideal of individualism heralded by Looney. Or perhaps Wilkinson was simply as deeply impressed by Looney's dramatic run as were the fans and sportswriters. In any case, Wilkinson's representation of this event stands out significantly from his usual style in the *Football Letter*—before and after that issue.

Wilkinson's references to Looney in subsequent issues of the *Football Letter* returned to an emphasis on the team context over individual achievement. In a typical example, describing a play that sportswriters of the day would tend to narrate with a focus on the player scoring the touchdown, Wilkinson characterized that player (Looney) as just one of many cogs in a collective effort:

Deere called a trap over guard. Wayne Lee blocked left, McQuarters handled the guard on him and Vermillion pulled to trap the middle linebacker who was drawn out of position by Grisham's fake. Deere set it up by faking wide to Grisham. Deere handed off to Looney over the middle. Looney shot through the hole and gathering speed with every stride, broke for the left corner. He picked up good downfield blocking and as Porterfield screened the safety, sped 61 yards to a touchdown. Metcalf kicked goal and the score was tied.[79]

Such characterization was more consistent with Wilkinson's long-held philosophy. "Individual achievements are not a tribute to any one player—but rather the result of fine team play. The man who makes the yards or scores the points doesn't really do any more—and sometimes does less than the 10 men who clear the way," he had written a decade earlier.[80] During the 1962 season, Wilkinson published perhaps his most strongly stated affirmation of the value he placed on collective effort: "Dedicated men work-

ing together for a common objective is the key to success in football as in everything else."[81]

By the end of that season, Wilkinson already was considering dismissing Looney from the team.[82] In the second game of the 1963 season, Looney had his last moment in the spotlight as a member of the Oklahoma team, turning in a strong performance on national television as Oklahoma upset the defending national champion University of Southern California team. However, after Oklahoma's next game, a twenty-one-point loss to the University of Texas, Wilkinson dismissed Looney from the team, apparently because his cumulative bad behavior finally exceeded Wilkinson's tolerance. Wilkinson made no mention of the dismissal in the *Football Letter.*

Oklahoma lost only one more game that season and finished the season ranked in the top ten teams nationally in wire-service polls. Throughout what would be his final year of producing the *Football Letter*, Wilkinson remained true to the major themes that had always characterized it. He never mentioned what must have been prominent in his thoughts, and what was certainly a frequent subject of media speculation that year—his interest in running for political office. In early 1964, Wilkinson resigned from Oklahoma and announced a bid for the U.S. Senate. Running as a Republican in a then heavily Democratic state, Wilkinson lost narrowly to State Senator Fred Harris.[83]

Only forty-seven at that time, and the most successful college coach in the game, Wilkinson did not coach again until 1978, when he recorded a losing record in two years as coach of the professional St. Louis Cardinals. In the time between leaving Oklahoma and his death in 1994, Wilkinson also worked as a prominent television announcer on national college football broadcasts for ABC and other networks, and in other business and appointed governmental positions.

Kings of All They Survey

Although Wilkinson was influential in shaping their interpretations of the game, the sportswriters of the *The Daily Oklahoman*, the state's dominant newspaper, could not restrain themselves to the *Football Letter*'s solemn, relentlessly idealistic vision of Oklahoma football.[84] Their exuberant copy sparkled with a delightful variety of efforts to represent ever more creatively the events on which they reported.

In this exuberance, the 1947 to 1964 sportswriters were linked to media trends that would see sport represented in even more flamboyant terms in the future—as well as to journalism tradition from earlier in the century. As sports historian Benjamin Rader has noted,

> The 1920s brought to the fore a marvelous new generation of sportswriters. Self-labeled the "Gee Whizzers," their enthusiasm for sport may have even exceeded that of the fans. . . . [They] wrote daily paeans to the feats of the athletes . . . [and] released future sportswriters from the obligation to report sports as "hard news." The sports page itself became a source of entertainment. Thus sportswriters exercised their imaginations freely and embellished the games they covered with Biblical and classical allusions . . . [and] endless similes.[85]

The *Oklahoman* sportswriters regularly characterized individual accomplishments in more exalted terms than the wholesome, team-oriented, selfless ideals of the *Football Letter*: "Jack Mitchell's explosive running probably was the only thing that saved the Sooners from disaster;"[86] "Mitchell did about everything but beat the big drum in the Oklahoma band;"[87] "Darrell Royal, handy-Andy backfield star . . . ;"[88] ". . . the blazing person of Billy Vessels, the supercharged Sooner flash who completely dominated the yardage duel;"[89] "With the flying cleats of gifted Tommy McDonald establishing a searing scoring gait . . . ."[90]

Providing even more contrast with the *Football Letter*'s modest representations of Oklahoma football were the *Oklahoman* sportswriters' use of superlatives to extol team successes: "Now it can be said—the greatest Sooner football team of them all;"[91] "The Sooners showed they could handle a rugged opponent in a game of national prominence—and with all the poise and eclat of the New York Yankees;"[92] "The legend of Oklahoma football invincibility was perpetuated;"[93] "The Sooners are still kings of all they survey;"[94] "Never before since the game's original kickoff in 1869 has any institution reached such a plateau."[95]

Never Overtly Critical

Regarding the subject most conspicuously ignored by the *Football Letter*—the university twice being placed on probation by the National Collegiate Athletic Association while Wilkinson was coach—the *Oklahoman* provided extensive coverage. However, the coverage was never overtly critical of the university, the athletic program, or Wilkinson. When the first probation was imposed in 1955, the *Oklahoman*'s lead story on the front page reported:

> The NCAA action was mainly a slap on the wrist for OU athletic policies. It does not affect OU's eligibility for participation in the 1956 Orange Bowl. . . . A more serious one-year probation was imposed on the University of Cincinnati. . . . OU was charged with offering prospective student athletes cost-free education beyond the athlete's nor-

> mal four-year period of eligibility and of paying medical expenses for the immediate families of student athletes (specifically wives and children). The third charge was leveled at OU boosters and not the university itself, in that the Big Red backers have provided student athletes fringe benefits in the form of clothes, miscellaneous gifts of cash and other gifts of relatively nominal value. . . . Unofficially, the attitude on the Norman campus in administrative circles was that the NCAA was "straining at gnats."[96]

Other stories following the imposition of the probation maintained the interpretation that it was not a serious or perhaps even justified action: "It is with a sigh of relief and an air of puzzlement that most Oklahomans are reacting to the investigation of Sooner football practices waged by the National Collegiate Athletic Association and its kangaroo court verdict. . . . The probe went on a year's fishing party and came away with several little dead minnows."[97]

The lead coverage of the second NCAA probation imposed during the Wilkinson era was also bannered across the top of the front page. The main article published was from the Associated Press and characterized the punishment in harsher terms than any of the *Oklahoman* coverage of the first probation:

> The University of Oklahoma Wednesday night was handed one of the severest penalties ever meted out by the National Collegiate Athletic Association—indefinite probation and a ban from appearing in postseason football games and on television—for failing to disclose details of a fund for recruiting athletes. . . . In both cases [the University of Tulsa was placed on one-year probation], it appeared that the institutions were being held responsible for violations not entirely under their control. Oklahoma's difficulty arose from a fund administered by Arthur L. Wood of Oklahoma City. In at least one case the NCAA established that the fund had provided improper financial aid to a student athlete. . . . The severity of the sentence was due largely to the fact that when Oklahoma was under investigation in 1954-55, no one mentioned the existence of this fund although later investigation revealed that some athletic department members must have known about it.[98]

However, the *Oklahoman*'s own first-day reporting on the probation focused on the role that may have been played by a former Oklahoma assistant coach: "Arthur L. Wood Wednesday night pointed his finger at Nebraska coach Bill Jennings when asked to comment on the indefinite probation slapped on the Sooners by the NCAA. . . . 'I would say this whole thing probably has been brought on by Jennings disclosing information to the

NCAA,' Wood said."[99] Jennings denied Wood's charge and was backed by his university and the NCAA in public statements.

On the second day after the NCAA action, an *Oklahoman* editorial, accompanied by an editorial cartoon portraying "John Q. Okla." hanging the NCAA in effigy from a tree limb,[100] argued that the probation was unfair:

> Under the prevailing hypocritical circumstances, subsidization to some degree is nearly universal. . . . The National Collegiate Athletic Association has its work cut out if it intends to apply retroactive suspensions on the basis of all the rules violations that may have occurred since 1952 without the knowledge of the affected colleges. In that event the NCAA would have to close shop for any other business. Certainly college football would have to close shop for any business at all.[101]

The Looney Bombshell

The *Oklahoman* devoted considerable coverage to Looney's football heroics during Wilkinson's final two seasons at Oklahoma. However, in an era when sportswriters rarely reported on athletes' off-the-field activities, the *Oklahoman* offered scarcely a glimpse of the unconventional aspects of Looney's personality and behavior during his time at Oklahoma. Those details did not begin to emerge until after his dismissal, during his itinerant professional career, and even later, as sportswriters actively began to explore athletes' personal lives. The definitive reporting on Looney appeared in the 1993 J. Brent Clark biography of Looney.[102]

Looney's emergence as a star on the team and his prominence in the *Oklahoman*'s coverage began with his first game in an Oklahoma uniform. The next day, the lead paragraph of the *Oklahoman*'s main story on the game stated: "Unsung Joe Don Looney . . . hauled off and hit a bases loaded homer, a dazzling 60-yard run with 2:07 left to play . . . as the Sooners executed the 'impossible' here Saturday afternoon." The story went on to recount "the Looney bombshell that flipped the stands upside down" at great length.[103] A nine-photo spread provided a sequence of shots from Looney's long run.[104]

Subsequent stories that week reflected Wilkinson's reluctance to continue focusing attention on Looney. "Turns out the score in that football sizzler down here Saturday was Oklahoma 7, Syracuse 3, not Joe Don Looney 7, Syracuse 3. . . . Wilkinson said, 'We blocked remarkably well on the play.' "[105] A week later, when Oklahoma lost to Notre Dame, Wilkinson's comments to the *Oklahoman* sounded as if he was happier about the loss than the previous win: "We came closer to earning a win today than we did against

Syracuse. Last week we got a breakaway touchdown. This week we earned our touchdown."[106]

As the season proceeded, the *Oklahoman* characterized Looney's feats in highly individualistic terms: "Joe Don Looney . . . a ground gobbling tiger. . . ;"[107] "Workhorse Looney gaining 81 yards off 19 carries, Oklahoma netting only 71 lengths as a team;"[108] "Once more Looney was all but unstoppable."[109] However, Wilkinson continued his attempts to place Looney's play in a team context: "Wilkinson . . . said of Looney's touchdown play, 'He (Deere) just faked a pitch and gave it to the halfback, who went right over center. . . . That's one of the real basic plays of football. Nothing about this play is unusual. It's fundamental.'"[110]

A Dramatic Fall

The 1963 season would bring continued prominence for Looney in *Oklahoman* coverage, both before and after his sudden dismissal from the team in October. His fall was dramatic. After a late September victory over Southern California, the *Oklahoman* reported, "Jolting Joe Looney frequently ran wild," and devoted an eight-photo spread to a long touchdown run by Looney.[111] Oklahoma was voted the nation's No. 1 team in the Associated Press poll for the following week.

Then in the team's next game, it lost to the University of Texas by a wide margin. The *Oklahoman*'s coverage described Wilkinson "in a state bordering on shock."[112] Two days later, the lead story on the *Oklahoman*'s front page reported:

> Joe Don Looney, Oklahoma's highly publicized senior halfback from Fort Worth, was dropped from the Sooner squad Monday by coach Bud Wilkinson for "disciplinary reasons." . . . Wilkinson refused to elaborate, but it was learned Monday night he felt Looney was responsible for the Sooners' crushing 28-7 defeat at the hands of Texas last Saturday. . . . A source on the scene told *The Daily Oklahoman* that Looney was a persistent source of dissension on the Sooner team because of continued 'dogging' in practice and a "haughty" attitude.[113]

The following day's *Oklahoman* included stories based on interviews with Looney and Wilkinson. In a front-page story, Looney defended himself: "I think I got a bad deal. . . . I admit I loaf some of the time, but not always. . . . They said it was for disciplinary reasons. What does that mean? There are worse ones around than me, when it comes to training, staying in shape. Maybe I didn't break my neck on the practice field, but I wasn't alone."[114] In a story in the sports section, Wilkinson said, "Team morale

had just ceased to exist. . . . We protected this guy for more than a year and we can't continue to protect one boy at the expense of 55 others. . . . We had been living with this problem for more than a year and finally could take it no more."[115]

Despite his early-season dismissal from the Oklahoma football team, Looney was named an All American for 1963 and was selected in the first round of the National Football League draft by the New York Giants. The *Oklahoman* published an Associated Press article that reported: "Asked if the Giants had considered Looney's attitude, the fact that he had attended four colleges, been dismissed from the Oklahoma team and may have a 'stage father' situation, [Giants vice president Wellington] Mara replied: 'We have considered those shoulders, those legs and those 224 pounds. Otherwise we have to take people as we find them.' "[116]

The Price of Idealism

In addition to serving a vital public relations function during its years of publication, *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter* offers insight into the cultural significance of an institutional newsletter and the nature and importance of its language and images. Over the seventeen years that *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter* was published, it consistently articulated an idealistic vision of college football as a metaphorical realm where wholesome warriors strive for collective progress. As George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have argued in their research on metaphors, "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. . . . Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system."[117]

Bud Wilkinson's early athletes at Oklahoma, most of them World War II veterans, validated his metaphorical vision. However, in the second half of Wilkinson's career at Oklahoma, that vision began to be challenged by a younger generation of athletes raised on affluence, television, and individualism instead of war-time sacrifice and collective effort. Wilkinson could dismiss Joe Don Looney from the team, but he could not dismiss the future. It seems unlikely that Wilkinson would have failed to sense on some level the approaching "abandonment of the Frank Merriwell model."[118]

However, throughout the Wilkinson era at Oklahoma, his *Football Letter* maintained its unwavering emphasis on the same basic set of ideals: collective effort, "fighting spirit," and sportsmanship. This suggests the *Football Letter* can be read as a defense of those ideals, and perhaps even as an effort at cultural reconstruction in the face of changing times. Though American culture did continue evolving in modes that may be seen as incompatible with Wilkinson's expressed ideals, the *Football Letter* stands as a

mass-media assertion that helps place its cultural idealism in a historical context.

As the author of the *Football Letter*, Wilkinson either believed devoutly in the ideals he publicly maintained as sacred, or at the least believed it was important to emphasize them in his representations of the game that for a time made him at least a minor icon of the early postwar era. As that era gave way to a very different one, Wilkinson sought unsuccessfully to capitalize upon his ideology politically, then held various positions in business, government, and other venues of public life, including his broadcast work in college football.

The broadcast work in particular offers opportunity for related research on Wilkinson's ideology as it may or may not have evolved after his coaching days. Although this research focused on an earlier period in Wilkinson's life, analysis of artifacts from his television career could present insight into his articulation of cultural ideals in the late 1960s and 1970s. It was in that era that the changes heralded by Looney several years earlier were played out more fully.

Endnotes

[1] Oklahoma won more than 80 percent of its football games (145 wins, twenty-nine losses, four ties) under Wilkinson, including forty-seven consecutive victories in the mid 1950s, a record that still stands.

[2] George Harvey Sage, *Power and Ideology in American Sport*, 2d ed. (Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics, 1998), xi, 11, 14.

[3] Judy Polumbaum and Stephen G. Wieting, "Stories of Sport and the Moral Order: Unraveling the Cultural Construction of Tiger Woods," *Journalism Communication Monographs* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 70-71.

[4] Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 276-282. Football, Oriard wrote, "tells stories that serve individual needs from wherever they arise."

[5] James W. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," *Journalism History* 1 (Spring 1974): 5.

[6] John J. Pauly, "A Beginner's Guide to Doing Qualitative Research in Mass Communication," *Journalism Monographs* 125 (February 1991): 12. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic, 1984), 6. The Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma holds a near complete collection of *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter* (all but nine of the 156 individual issues of the newsletter published from 1947 through 1963). All issues in the collection were read closely for significant themes. Also, extensive coverage of the Wilkinson era in *The Daily Oklahoman*,

Oklahoma's largest newspaper, was examined to put the *Football Letter*'s representations in context. Because the *Oklahoman* consistently provided exhaustive coverage of the same events and issues during the period under study, it offered the most useful news-media narrative paralleling Wilkinson's narrative. Wilkinson apparently left no personal papers available to the public.

[7] Oriard, *Reading Football*, 16-17.

[8] This approach is informed by the discussion in Pauly, "A Beginner's Guide," 2-4, 23, of exploring "the shared systems of meaning that render individual messages intelligible" by interpreting media products as texts that represent "more or less integrated strategies of symbolic action" and "ongoing practices of meaning-making." Further, "For better or worse, modern people dwell in symbolic worlds mediated by mass communication. Qualitative researchers reconstruct the meaning of modernity on the social site created by those mass media."

[9] Goldstein, "Sports in the Twentieth Century," in *Encyclopedia of American Social History,* Vol. 3. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), 1645; Oriard, *Reading Football*, 284.

[10] John Hammond Moore, "Football's Ugly Decades, 1893-1913," in *The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America* (New York: Leisure, 1984), 187; Hal D. Sears, "The Moral Threat of Intercollegiate Sports: An 1893 Poll of Ten College Presidents, and the End of 'The Champion Football Team of the Great West'," *Journal of Sport History* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1992): 211-26; Ronald A. Smith, "Harvard and Columbia and a Reconsideration of the 1905-06 Football Crisis," *Journal of Sport History* 8, no. 3 (Winter 1981): 5-19; Richard Stone, "The Graham Plan of 1935: An Aborted Crusade to De-emphasize College Athletics," *North Carolina Historical Review* 64, no. 3 (1987): 274-93.

[11] Walter Camp, "Walter Camp's Book of College Sports," in *The American Sporting Experience*, 165-167.

[12] Oriard, *Reading Football*, 17.

[13] Donald W. Rominger Jr., "From Playing Field to Battleground: The United States Navy V-5 Preflight Program in World War II," *Journal of Sport History* 12, no. 3 (Winter 1985): 252-264.

[14] Harold Keith, *Forty-Seven Straight: The Wilkinson Era at Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 16.

[15] Gary T. King, *An Autumn Remembered: Reflections of College Football's Greatest Team* (Norman, OK: Red Earth, 1988), 15; Keith, *Forty-Seven Straight*, 20.

[16] J. Brent Clark, *3rd Down and Forever: Joe Don Looney and the Rise and Fall of an American Hero* (New York: St. Martin's, 1993).

17 Ibid., 109.

[18] The idealized Merriwell performed heroics in turn-of-the-century novels for Yale—college football's first power, with a nonfiction record of 324 victories, seventeen losses, eighteen ties in 1872-1909. Oriard, *Reading Football*, 280. Oriard places this abandonment as most evident since the early 1970s, and suggests that in it, "one can observe the transformation of football for an age obsessed with self-presentation and self-fulfillment."

[19] Clark, *3rd Down and Forever*, 110.

[20] Mike Treps, interview with author, Norman, Okla., 2 December 1998.

[21] Barry Switzer and Bud Shrake, *Bootlegger's Boy* (New York: William Morrow, 1990), 247-248.

[22] Though *Grapes of Wrath* is not generally considered to have ridiculed "Okies" so much as portrayed them as displaced but courageous and even heroic victims of dehumanizing market forces, the "inferiority complex" it engendered among Oklahomans has been established as an article of faith in regional mythology. Cross certainly is partly responsible for this, as he made reference to such an inferiority complex countless times in interviews and in his own books. For examples of how Oklahoma leaders treated the assertion as a matter of fact, see "One Man, One Team, Pride," *Sooner Magazine*, September 1958, 14-15, 32, in which prominent state politicians and businessmen discuss the role the Oklahoma football team played in helping the state recover from the ostensible *Grapes of Wrath* inferiority complex. This article also noted the popularity of the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical *Oklahoma!* (a 1943 Broadway production and 1955 film) as a factor in this process. For a later discussion of the *Grapes* myth's enduring currency, see Berry W. Tramel, "The Significance of Sports in Oklahoma," in *The Culture of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 143-159.

[23] George Lynn Cross, *The University of Oklahoma and World War II* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 168.

[24] Keith, *Forty-Seven Straight*, 337.

[25] "They Were the Best of Times," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 11 February 1994, sec. 1A, 31.

[26] Keith, *Forty-Seven Straight*, 16.

[27] Wilkinson with Hirsch, *Bud Wilkinson*, 2-3, 6.

[28] Tramel, "The Significance of Sports in Oklahoma," 144.

[29] Just how intense this interest could be was documented in Addie Lee Pickard Barker, "Belfry of Bedlam," *Sooner Magazine*, July 1954, 9-10, 17-18. During one 1953 game, "on the radio (second) level of the press box all ten booths—one television, seven radio, and one each for Oklahoma and Notre Dame coaches . . . were jammed to capacity. All the V.I.P.'s of radio and television and all the major radio networks with coast-to-coast hookups were here. . . . Crowded into the 19 front wall positions on the roof were *Life* magazine, Big Seven Game of the Week, the nation's four major television newsreels (ABC-TV, NBC-TV, Telenews and UP Telefoto), Movietone, Paramount and Universal Theatre newsreels, WKY-TV's three

cameras, Oklahoma and Notre Dame movie cameras, and photographers from the *Daily Oklahoman*, *Kansas City Star*, *Tulsa World*, *Wichita Eagle*, and *Muskogee (Okla.) Phoenix*."

[30] "Coach Touched Lives As Father, Teacher, Motivator," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 11 February 1994, sec. 1A, 31.

[31] Wilkinson with Hirsch, *Bud Wilkinson*, 87.

[32] "Oklahoma 21, Oklahoma A&M 13," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 2 December 1947, WHC. Although Wilkinson was assisted by Sports Information Director Harold Keith in producing the *Football Letter*, considerable evidence supports Wilkinson's significant authorship.

[33] Treps, interview.

[34] "Oklahoma 24, Detroit 20," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 30 September 1947, WHC.

[35] Treps, interview.

[36] "Oklahoma 41, Missouri 7," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 9 November 1948, WHC.

[37] "Oklahoma 21, Texas Christian 18," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 26 October 1948, WHC.

[38] "Oklahoma 20, Texas 14," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 11 October 1948, WHC.

[39] "Oklahoma 33, Iowa 6," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 2 November 1948, WHC.

[40] Smith, "Harvard and Columbia and a Reconsideration of the 1905-06 Football Crisis," 5. As Smith's research documented, "Numerous colleges considered abolishing the game both for its commercialization and professionalism as well as its brutality and questionable ethics. Columbia and another score of colleges even banished the game. . . . Not only did an important college, Columbia, drop football, but Harvard came to the brink of banning it. Furthermore, the first intercollegiate meeting of college authorities to consider abolition came within two votes of resolving to ban the sport."

[41] "Oklahoma 41, Oklahoma Aggies 0," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 29 November 1949, WHC.

[42] "Oklahoma 20, Missouri 0," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 8 November 1955, WHC.

[43] "Oklahoma 23, Colorado 7," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 4 November 1958, WHC.

[44] "Oklahoma 34, Kansas 12," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 23 October 1956, WHC.

[45] "Oklahoma 20, Texas 14," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 11 October 1948, WHC.

[46] "Oklahoma 58, Kansas St. 0," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 24 October 1950, WHC.

[47] "Oklahoma 48, Nebraska 0," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 25 October 1949, WHC.

[48] "Oklahoma 47, Missouri 7," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 18 November 1952, WHC.

[49] "Oklahoma 65, Kansas 0," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 19 October 1954, WHC.

[50] "Oklahoma 40, Iowa State 0," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 9 November 1954, WHC.

[51] "Oklahoma 34, Missouri 20," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 13 November 1951, WHC.

[52] "Oklahoma 30, Nebraska 7," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 24 November 1953, WHC.

[53] Wilkinson was not implicated personally in the violations, at the time or since then. If he was aware of any illegal activity, it has not been documented. The violations largely derived from alumni boosterism and university confrontations with the NCAA on rule interpretations. Further, the penalties were mild by more recent standards. In the 1950s, the NCAA's enforcement role was undergoing unprecedented metamorphosis. Little more than a ceremonial body for half a century, it had received authority to impose sanctions only in 1952. For historical perspective on the NCAA, see Rader, *American Sports*, 214, 267-273.

[54] Cross, *Presidents Can't Punt*, 152-54.

[55] Ibid., 318-319, 323.

[56] That conference was named the Big Seven in 1948-59 and the Big Eight in 1960-1995. Since then, it has been called the Big 12.

[57] Cross, *Presidents Can't Punt*, 319.

[58] King, *An Autumn Remembered*, 152. This is not to suggest that such dramatic social change can be pinpointed to 1957—or any other single year. It is included only to add Searcy's memories of changes that seem to have been under way at that time to observations of others who also recall more obedience from athletes in the early part of Wilkinson's coaching career and more individualism in the latter part.

[59] Clark, *3rd Down and Forever*, 120-21. Among other incidents, Looney once broke into the apartment of a young couple and beat them up because they voted for Lyndon Johnson for president instead of Barry Goldwater.

[60] Ibid., 68, 83.

[61] Keith, *Forty-Seven Straight*, 318.

[62] Treps, interview.

[63] "The 1950s," it should be noted, is used here as shorthand in reference to a historical period that actually cannot be neatly isolated between the years of 1950 and 1960. Realistically, no cultural and social eras can be considered to begin precisely with one year and then to suddenly end with another. While it would be impossible to identify which day in which year "the 1950s" actually began or ended, socioculturally speaking, the period should more practically be considered to begin sometime in the late 1940s and to end sometime in the early 1960s. That period also more closely brackets the years of this study.

[64] David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard, 1993), x-xi.

[65] Douglas T. Miller and Marion Nowak, *The Fifties: The Way We Really Were* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 5.

[66] David R. Shumway, "Watching Elvis: The Male Rock Star as Object of the Gaze," in *The Other Fifties: Interrogating Midcentury American Icons*, ed. Joel Foreman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 124; Os Guinness, *The American Hour: A Time of Reckoning and the Once and Future Role of Faith* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 82.

[67] Ibid., 84.

[68] Halberstam, *The Fifties*, xi.

[69] James Gilbert, *Another Chance: Postwar America, 1945-1985*, 2d ed. (Chicago: Dorsey, 1986), 189.

[70] Miller and Nowak, *The Fifties*, 7.

[71] Ibid., 297; Unger and Unger, *Twentieth Century America*, 340.

[72] John Patrick Diggins, *The Proud Decades: America in War and Peace, 1941-1960* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988), 270.

[73] This article acknowledges the great body of literature and the continuing debate as to the extent and nature of media effects. This study does not attempt to resolve that debate, nor does it contend that media effects produced the events discussed here. It certainly does not seek to vilify television, mass consumption, or any of the other cultural trends discussed (or either Looney or Wilkinson, for that matter). Rather, it suggests that on balance the cultural forces in play over the course of Looney's formative, coming-of-age years appear to have differed from those of Wilkinson's significantly enough that they may help explain the conflict that played out between them. That is, an era of world war and economic depression may have shaped the thinking of Wilkinson's generation in contrast to the ways that unprecedented affluence and a popular new mass medium—along with other cultural forces—may have shaped the thinking of Looney.

[74] Treps, interview.

[75] Clark, *3rd Down and Forever*, 75.

[76] Warren Goldstein, "Sports in the Twentieth Century," in *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, 1648.

[77] Clark, *3rd Down and Forever*, 60-61.

[78] "Oklahoma 7, Syracuse 3," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 25 September 1962, WHC.

[79] "Oklahoma 13, Kansas 7," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 23 October 1962, WHC.

[80] "Oklahoma 49, Kansas State 6," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 28 October 1952, WHC.

[81] "Oklahoma 37, Oklahoma State 6," *Bud Wilkinson's Football Letter*, 4 December 1962, WHC.

[82] Keith, *Forty-Seven Straight*, 340.

[83] Ibid., 349-50.

[84] "Bud Operated Under Control, 'Within Himself'," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 11 February 1994, sec. 1A, 33. This article provides several examples of Wilkinson's influence with sportswriters. Volney Meece, a sportswriter for *The Daily Oklahoman* for forty-one years, reported frequently on Oklahoma football during the Wilkinson era. In this article, he recalled: "The Bud Wilkinson I remember is the one in the kitchen of his house after games, telling a select handful of writers what really happened in that day's game so we could write follow-up stories and look like the experts we weren't. That was when coaches could speak off the record to writers and trust that their comments would remain off the record. . . . We termed our visits to his kitchen 'worshiping at the shrine.' . . . Wilkinson . . . was protective of his public image. . . . One time I quoted him in the paper as saying, 'gonna' instead of 'going to.' . . . OU publicist Harold Keith told me Bud would appreciate it if I didn't quote him as using such contractions because it was bad for his image."

[85] Benjamin G. Rader, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1983), 199-200.

[86] "OU Stops Late Detroit Surge, Wins 24 to 20," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 27 September 1947, sec. 1A, 1.

[87] "Sooners Smack Down Texas Aggies, 26-14, In Last Half Splurge," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 5 October 1947, sec. 1A, 1.

[88] "Royal Leads 42-0 Victory Over K-State," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 17 October 1948, sec. 1B, 1.

[89] "54,000 See Oklahoma Outscore Nebraska for Loop Flag, 49-35," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 26 November 1950, sec. 1B, 1.

[90] "Sooners March Over Pitt, 26-14," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 2 October 1955, sec. 1D, 1.

[91] "Oklahoma Wins 14-6," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 2 January 1949, sec. 1B, 1.

[92] "This One Proves Sooners Have It," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 9 October 1949, sec. 1B, 1.

[93] "Sooners Clip Iowa State, 20-7," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 29 October 1950, sec. 1B, 1.

[94] "Sooners Trounce Kansas, 42-20," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 19 October 1952, sec. 1D, 1.

[95] "Sooners Smash Aggies, 53-0," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 2 December 1956, sec. 1B, 1.

[96] "OU Draws Two-Year Probation on Charges of Athletic Violations," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 27 April 1955, sec. 1A, 1.

[97] "Once Over Lightly," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 28 April 1955, sec. 1A, 20.

[98] "Oklahoma Football Placed on Probation," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 7 January 1960, sec. 1A, 1.

[99] "Sooner Ban Blamed on Jennings," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 7 January 1960, sec. 1A, 16.

[100] "Some Suspending of Our Own," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 8 January 1960, sec. 1A, 24.

[101] "Retroactive Retribution," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 8 January 1960, sec. 1A, 24.

[102] That holds true on the details of Wilkinson's dismissal of Looney. See Clark, *3rd Down and Forever*, 100-110. Clark detailed how conflict escalated between coach and athlete in the weeks before Looney's dismissal. Clark concluded that the publicly stated factors concerning Looney's disciplinary problems, bad attitude, poor practice habits, and role in the Texas loss were university "propaganda" to justify Wilkinson's desire to get rid of Looney. Clark suggested Wilkinson used Looney as a scapegoat for problems caused by the distractions of Wilkinson's plans for political candidacy. However, contradicting that theory, Oklahoma went 6-1 without Looney in Wilkinson's final seven games, during a period in which the coach's political plans received much more public attention than they had before Looney was dismissed.

[103] "OU Wins, 7-3, On Looney's Sprint," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 23 September 1962, sec. 1E, 1.

[104] "Here's Looney's Blast-Off That Put OU Fans in Orbit," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 23 September 1962, sec. 1E, 3.

[105] "Bud Says OU Blocking Great on Looney's Run," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 25 September 1962, sec. 1A, 12.

[106] "Having Victory Snatched Away Tough on Sooners," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 30 September 1962, sec. 1E, 7.

[107] "Texans Stagger By OU, 9-6," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 14 October 1962, sec. 1E, 1.

[108] "Once Over Lightly," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 15 October 1962, sec. 1A, 32.

[109] "Big Red Rocks I-State 41-0," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 11 November 1962, sec. 1E, 1.

[110] "Simple Fake Set Looney Free on Spring, Bud Says," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 21 October 1962, sec. 1E, 5.

[111] "OU Jolts Trojans, 17-12," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 29 September 1963, sec. 1E, p. 1; "Smiles, But There's No Joy in Troy," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 29 September 1963, sec. 1E, 3.

[112] "Sooners Hope Defeat A Blessing in Disguise," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 13 October 1963, sec. 1E, 7.

[113] "Wilkinson Dismisses Ace Halfback Looney From Football Team," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 15 October 1963, sec. 1A, 1.

[114] "Joe Don Looney Speaks Up: 'I Think I Got a Bad Deal'," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 16 October 1963, sec. 1A, 1.

[115] "Should've Done It Sooner, Says Bud," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 16 October 1963, sec. 1A, 23.

[116] "OU 'Exile' Looney Signs Pro Contract," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 8 December 1963, sec. 1E, 4.

[117] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 5-6, 145-146.

[118] Oriard, *Reading Football*, 80.

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Science, Journalism, and the Construction of News: How Print Media Framed the 1918 Influenza Pandemic

by Meg Spratt

In 1918, the deadliest pandemic of the twentieth century killed millions of people worldwide. America's relatively young professions of medical science and modern journalism were faced with the challenge of relaying crucial health information in a way the general public could understand. Through a content analysis of two scientific and two mainstream publications, this article considers how scientific and journalistic dependence on objectivity, facticity, empirical observation, and expert sources shaped the way the influenza story was told during the height of the pandemic. Emphasis on facticity and empirical data did far more than relay medical "truths" to the public—it constructed a journalistic reality that supported existing power structures and conferred status on scientific and governmental authorities while taking for granted the subordinate positions of average citizens.

In 1918 and 1919, the deadliest pandemic of the twentieth century infected more than 25 percent of the United States population and killed millions of people worldwide.[1] Unlike previous influenzas, the Spanish Flu hit young, healthy populations hard. The first wave of the flu began in the Spring of 1918 as World War I raged. The second, and most deadly, wave hit in Fall not long before the war's end. By the end of the year, influenza casualties had surpassed war casualties, and the third of three waves was still ahead. U.S. cities were especially hard hit, with the average life span of Americans dropping by twelve years before the flu subsided.[2]

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This devastating pandemic presented new challenges to America's relatively young professions of medical science and modern journalism. These two professions, which shared similar histories in the nineteenth century as well as a dependence on scientific method and explanation — including a growing professed reliance upon objectivity and facticity[3] — were faced with the challenge of relaying crucial health-related information in a way the general public could understand. Modern journalism's new emphases on fact-finding and observable truth were tested by this international health crisis. Yet despite the staggering mortality rates during an important era in media history, communications scholars have paid little attention to how the pandemic was covered. Frank Luther Mott, for example, devoted one short sentence to the Spanish Flu in his classic *American Journalism.*[4]

By examining journalistic coverage of the 1918 pandemic in two scientific and two mainstream publications, this article considers how journalistic dependence on scientific explanations and method — including elements such as objectivity, empirical observation, and reliance on expert sources — shaped the way in which journalists told the influenza story. Specifically, the article addresses the questions: How does acceptance of, and reliance upon, scientific fact impact the framing of news? Do news frames built on scientific concepts and method limit the voices being heard or marginalize certain segments of the population? Did scientific publications offer significantly different coverage of the pandemic than the mainstream press? How did this new journalistic dependence upon objective method and facticity fare in covering a major health crisis?

Science and Journalism — Conflicts and Similarities

An ongoing debate between scientists and journalists has involved the efficacy of mainstream publications in relaying vital health information to the public. In a 1998 JAMA (*Journal of the American Medical Association*) article, Scott Eggener of the Stanford University School of Medicine noted that increased biomedical knowledge and the proliferation of media outlets have not necessarily led to better public awareness of health issues. "Unfortunately," he wrote, "there is a gap between the wealth of expanding information and the quality of public health, partly because of the difficulty of dispensing this information to the lay public."[5]

This gap between scientific knowledge and public understanding of health and medicine has been blamed by some in the scientific community on practices and biases of the mainstream media.[6] However, many media critics ignore the relationship between scientific method and journalistic practices and themes. Parallels in the development of medicine and journalism as professions in the late nineteenth century led to important similari-

ties between reporting of information by the scientific community, and reporting by mainstream journalists. It is not enough to compare differences between the two professions; researchers must also consider the similarities when assessing the relative quality of information disseminated by scientists and by journalists. Both professions value observable facts as keys to truth, and this shared belief in an empirical reality is bound to result in common themes and structures within scientific and journalistic communication.

Elihu Katz addressed some of these similarities in a 1989 article, arguing that journalists have much in common with scientists. Katz disputed Epstein's 1975 argument that journalists, as opposed to medical professionals, are ill-equipped to identify and relay truthful information. Katz pointed out that Epstein was guilty of idealizing science and underestimating journalism. "Doctors, too, are often incompetent to make diagnoses without the aid of informed colleagues," Katz wrote. "They are often as pressured by time and by scooping their colleagues as are journalists. Indeed the sense of urgency is one of the characteristics of the professional culture, and the scoop is one of the defining characteristics of the culture of science."[7]

By the beginning of the 1900s, modern norms and practices in American journalism were already well developed. Health and medical news was quickly becoming established as a staple in mainstream print media. Empirical research methods, including first-hand observation and reliance upon "expert" sources, were central to both medical science and mainstream journalism. By the time the deadly 1918 Spanish Flu pandemic spread across the world, journalistic practices were closely related to scientific philosophy, and journalists had appropriated empirical reporting methods from science.

The occurrence of a devastating pandemic at a time when American journalism and science had become closely intertwined offers a unique research opportunity. By comparing mainstream media coverage of the Spanish Flu to coverage of it by scientific journals, conclusions may be drawn regarding similarities and limitations of both types of media in reporting scientific information to the public. Through a case study of the most deadly (and strangely forgotten) pandemic of the twentieth century, this article examines how journalistic acceptance and appropriations of scientific method impacted the framing of news during a time of crisis and uncertainty. Particularly, this analysis considers how the selection of sources, facts, and figures shaped news messages about the Spanish Influenza.

The issue of framing within both mainstream news stories and scientific reports is crucial to the examination of media messages and the social construction of reality. Within health and medicine news, mediated reality construction may have especially profound impacts on both individuals and groups. Personalized health choices and public policy decisions are at stake. Understanding how journalistic and scientific practices have historically shaped medical news reports is a first step in finding ways to improve con-

temporary coverage of health care. In a broader sense, journalistic frames influenced by objective method may, in fact, limit the variety of viewpoints represented in the news and reinforce societal power structures.

Scholarly Perspectives

Two areas of research contribute to the conceptualization of this study. First, the interwoven histories of nineteenth and early twentieth century American journalism and science are crucial to understanding the relationships and tensions between the two fields. Second is the idea that journalists use repeated frames, or themes, in constructing stories that may have an important impact on audience perceptions and even actions.

A Marriage of Science and Journalism. During the last part of the nineteenth century, journalism practices changed significantly, shaping patterns and norms for the twentieth century. The late 1800s saw the rise of the professional reporter, dependence on "official" sources, inverted pyramid format, and objectivity as a central journalistic norm.[8] At the same time, western medicine was changing rapidly, also because of an increased emphasis on scientific method and objectivity as well as a number of medical breakthroughs (perhaps most importantly Pasteur's germ theory and Lister's development of antiseptic surgery). Changes in journalism and medicine intersected around the beginning of the twentieth century as more scientific journals were founded and mainstream publications carried more health and medical news. As David Mindich and Daniel Schiller each have pointed out, these trends cannot be treated in isolation.[9] The natural and social sciences became increasingly dependent on concepts of objective truth and empirical evidence in the late nineteenth century, and journalism followed suit. This intertwining of scientific and journalistic values became apparent as newspapers not only printed more scientific and medical news, but also imitated scientific method by claiming to ascertain and report facts through objective observation.

The century preceding the Spanish Flu outbreak was pivotal in the development of both modern medical and journalistic practices. The scientific, social, and economic aspects of medicine were rapidly changing. The medical workplace was evolving, moving from the patient's home to the doctor's office. At the same time, more acutely ill patients were being treated in hospitals. Charles Rosenberg traced social changes in medicine through a study of cholera epidemics in 1832, 1849, and 1866. "Cholera in 1866 was a social problem," Rosenberg wrote. "In 1832, it had still been, to many Americans, a primarily moral dilemma." Likewise, by 1866 accepted cures no longer had a religious basis. "Chloride of lime, not fasting, brought de-

liverance from cholera; the cure for pauperism lay in education and housing, not prayers and exhortation," Rosenberg reported.[10]

In a review of the social history of medicine, Gerald Grob summarized succinctly the nineteenth century medical revolution: "The changing structure of medicine itself undoubtedly was related to a variety of determinants, including new theories of disease, a technology that altered traditional medical practice, changing social perceptions of the role of physicians, new avenues of recruitment, and the creation of a novel system of medical education."[11]

Several historians have dealt with nineteenth-century health communication issues by focusing on the development of scientific publications. The development, classification, and content of these publications have been carefully studied. Thomas Horrocks traced the development of medical journals from the *Medical Repository*, founded in New York City in 1797, through an explosion of journals in the mid and late 1800s. This increase in medical publications was because of, in part, the same forces that created the popular mass print media. "The proliferation of medical journals during the middle decades of the nineteenth century was the result not only of the growing professionalization of American medicine, but also of the advances in printing and improved modes of communication and transportation," Horrocks explained.[12] Mott estimated that between 300 and 400 science journals were published between 1865 and 1885 alone.[13] James Cassedy has analyzed the content of early American medical journals and traced their influence on the institution of medicine. Cassedy credited the journals with disseminating medical information in a timely manner for the first time and accelerating changes in medicine.[14]

By the time the 1918 Spanish Flu pandemic began, trends in twentieth century medicine and journalism were established, and the two fields were becoming increasingly intertwined. The muckraking era had resulted in a number of medical-related exposés, including Samuel Hopkins Adams' exposure of the patent medicine fraud in a 1905-06 series of articles appearing in *Collier's Weekly*. Adams went on to write about a number of public health issues, including typhoid fever, common colds, and cancer.[15] His work, combined with the publication of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, has been credited with the 1906 passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act.[16]

Mainstream media were increasingly interested in packaging and marketing science news, an interest that led to the first medical columnist, Dr. William A. Evans of the *Chicago Tribune*, and eventually, E.W. Scripps' Science Service in 1921.[17] For a relatively short period of time, this increased interest in medical news was focused on the 1918 influenza pandemic.

Framing of Science News. The selection and identification of limited themes within news stories has been a focus of communication researchers for several decades. Gaye Tuchman observed that news media present

information in narrow frames, which, in turn, limit public discourse.[18] Robert Entman explained that "analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information.[19] Dietram Scheufele further explicated the concept of framing by distinguishing between media frames and individual frames. Media frames, he explained, refer to construction of a news story, while individual frames refer to audience interpretations.[20]

Zhongdang Pan and Gerald Kosicki identified specific ways in which news frames are constructed, including syntactical structures, script structures, thematic structures, and rhetorical structures. Elements within each of these are useful in examining frames within health and medical news. Within syntactical structures, for instance, objectivity (or the absence of obviously opinionated wording) and reliance upon authoritative sources are central to news composition. Thematic structures in news stories include "hypothesis testing features," which identify causes and solutions to issues. Rhetorical structures depend upon stylistic choices, including use of metaphor.[21]

Many science historians have pointed to particular frames as they criticize mainstream newspaper and magazine medical reporting. Some see today's main themes in popular science reporting rooted in the sensationalism of Yellow Journalism. John Burnham has suggested that cultural mythology, rather than pure science, has been a theme throughout health reporting. The Yellow Journalism wars in the late 1800s deeply influenced twentieth century medical reporting, Burnham has contended, stating that the media "all continued the main bias of yellow journalism: sensationalism."[22]

Scott Montgomery also examined the origins and evolution of science communication, treating medical journalism as a subtopic. Science stories in the mass media, he contended, have historically featured "marvels, breakthroughs, geniuses, (and) mysteries."[23] As for medical reporting, Montgomery characterized the writing as carrying a "biomilitarism" theme, using imagery borrowed from military warfare to describe disease. This imagery can be traced to Pasteur's work in the 1860s and '70s, Montgomery said. "War came into medicine and the human body thanks to the full institutionalization of the germ theory of disease, with its axial concepts of microbial 'invasion' and bodily 'resistance.'"[24]

Three studies dealing specifically with popular media and medical news are worth noting. First, Andrew McClary offered a complete examination of germ theory as reported in American magazines between 1890 and 1920. American magazines became increasingly concerned with the spread of germs during this time, focusing on carriers and disinfectants. Frenzied attempts by magazines to find solutions to this germ threat sometimes resulted in dangerous advice. "A variety of chemical disinfectants were suggested for household use," McClary wrote. "Formaldehyde was perhaps the common-

est. Potassium permaganate was suggested, as were sulfur, chlorinated lime, and carbolic acid."[25]

Second, David Mindich has drawn from Rosenberg's history of American cholera epidemics to examine the treatment of disease in nineteenth century journalism. Mindich examined cholera reports in New York newspapers during three epidemics. By 1866, medical reporting had obviously shifted from a religious base to a reliance on scientific facts as derived from medical experts. "The newspapers' chief concern shifted from God to outhouses," Mindich wrote. "Column after column in the three major New York dailies discussed, usually without the least mention of sin or God, the best ways to disinfect privies."[26]

Finally, Terra Ziporyn successfully brought much of the medical and communication historical literature together in a comprehensive book-length content analysis, *Disease in the Popular Press*.[27] Focusing on the five decades between 1870 and 1920, Ziporyn analyzed magazine articles about diphtheria, typhoid fever, and syphilis. She set the context for her study through a careful discussion of the popularization of medicine, including germ theory, preventive health, and the changing role of physicians. Ziporyn's research into medical reporting in the mainstream press is unique in its thoroughness. As a result, she was able to draw a number of specific conclusions while other historians have dealt with generalizations. She found, for instance, that "the accuracy and perspective of the (diphtheria) articles depended more on the author's writing abilities than either his scientific credentials or the magazine's genre, the reader's account of diphtheria and its antitoxin depended more than anything on the luck of the draw."[28] Coverage of typhoid between 1880 to 1920 "illustrates a full circle in science writing: from textbook-style articles, based on contemporary medical beliefs, to event inspired articles, and then back to textbook-style articles, based on the newer medical beliefs."[29]

The burgeoning relationship between science and media created not only new endeavors in relaying medical news to the public, but also a natural tension between the scientific community and the popular media. This tension persisted throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Medical researchers continue to express frustration with media superficialities and inaccuracies, while editors and reporters in the popular press struggle to make scientific language understandable and relevant to the general public. While the communication ideals of both the scientific community and popular press have remained the same — to accurately report scientific information — representatives from the two communities argue that norms, practices, language, and values differ substantially between the professions.[30]

Method

With the exception of a few notable studies, researchers have offered only superficial analysis of the historical development of medical and health reporting in popular American news media, and almost no scholarly attention has been paid to reporting of the Spanish Influenza. Communication and medical historians have found certain themes in health reporting, indicating that health news formats did not develop as a reflection of objective scientific fact. Instead, analyses indicate repeated individual and cultural biases in reporting, including sensationalism, militaristic framing, and a preference for stories of "breakthroughs" and "cures." This study is designed to examine these themes and others in a mainstream American newspaper (*The New York Times*), a mainstream magazine covering social issues (*The Survey*), and two science-oriented publications (*Scientific American* and *Science*). For the purposes of this study, "mainstream publication" is defined as a print medium with a large and heterogeneous audience. *The Survey*, a weekly magazine published in New York, included well-known social reformer Jane Addams on its board of directors and identified its mission as advancing "the cause of constructive philanthropy."[31] *Survey* articles focused on a variety of social issues and were clearly aimed at promoting social and political reforms to a diverse audience.

Both publications classified as "scientific" indicate in their mastheads that they are published by the scientific community for readers interested in science. *Science* describes itself as "A Weekly Journal devoted to the Advancement of Science, publishing the official notices and proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science."[32] *Scientific American* and *Scientific American Supplement* articles are written by members of the scientific and medical communities and, according to the *Supplement* masthead, "reflect the most advanced thought in science and industry throughout the world."[33]

This content analysis studies a census of *Scientific American, Science,* and *Survey* articles on the Spanish Flu in October, November, and December of 1918, and a sample of *New York Times* articles for the same time period. This time period corresponds with the peak of Spanish Flu mortality rates within the United States.[34] This leap in mortality rates prompted a sharp increase in news reports about the flu, as evidenced by listings in both the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* and *The New York Times Index* for 1918.

For the three weekly magazines, all articles listed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* during this time period were coded. *Scientific American* articles included reprints from other publications, which appeared in *Scientific American Supplement*. Every third issue of *The New York Times,*

beginning with 1 October 1918, was sampled for this three-month period. All articles pertaining to the Spanish Flu within each of these editions were coded. The number of articles coded totaled sixty-five from *The New York Times*, eight from *Survey*, six from *Scientific American*, and four from *Science*.

Items within the coding instrument were designed to identify specific news framing devices discussed in previous literature. These include story content, use of mortality figures, reliance on authoritative sources, use of biomilitaristic metaphor, and mention of preventions or cures. Pre-tests showed inter-coder reliability to range from 90 to 100 percent on all variables. In addition to the quantitative portion of the analysis, all stories in the sample were analyzed for general themes, or frames. The dominant frames in each publication were compared.

This content analysis was designed to determine whether, and if so how, the acceptance of scientific concepts and method — such as objective observation of empirical data, use of statistics, and reliance upon expert sources — influenced news frames. In addition, specific story elements were analyzed and compared to see whether significant differences existed between news frames in the two scientific publications and frames in the mainstream publications.

Results

Traditional twentieth-century news norms appropriated from scientific method clearly shaped the nature and structure of influenza news in all four publications. However, specific elements of story content differed from publication to publication (see Table 1). *Scientific American* and *Survey* articles, for instance, offered the most detailed accounts of suspected origins of the flu, and of the toll the epidemic took on individuals and society. *The New York Times* and *Science* offered shorter updates often based on information released by governmental agencies.

More striking, though, are the similarities found between the four publications. All four relied almost exclusively on expert sources from either the government or scientific communities to tell the influenza story (see Table 2). All four publications told stories of conflict, though the nature of the conflict differed from one publication to another. And all relied on facts and numbers to track progress of scientific experts and governmental officials in controlling the pandemic. Neither sensationalism nor medical breakthroughs were predominant elements in the influenza stories. In fact, rather than being sensationalized, the intense human suffering caused by the pandemic in the last quarter of 1918 rarely was explicitly addressed in news

reports. When influenza deaths surpassed war deaths in Fall of 1918, *The New York Times* ran the news as a small story on an inside page 8.[35]

Table 1: Comparison of story components

	Articles suggesting public policy regulations as a means to control pandemic	Articles citing mortality figures	Articles naming individual influenza victims
New York Times	50.8 percent (33 of 65 articles)	55.4 percent (36 of 65 articles)	12.3 percent (8 articles)
Survey	87.5 percent (7 of 8 articles)	50 percent 4 of 8 articles)	25 percent (2 articles)
Scientific American	16.7 percent (1 of 6 articles)	16.7 percent (1 of 6 articles)	none
Science	25 percent (1 of 4 articles)	75 percent 3 of 4 articles)	none

Story content

The New York Times. The short news reports in the *Times* constructed a government versus plague scenario, often featuring New York Health Commissioner Royal Copeland as the key actor. Throughout October, the *Times* printed multiple short articles about the influenza on an almost daily basis. These stories were often packaged together on a back page, with World War I news dominating the front page and most of the front section. In November, the number of influenza stories dropped dramatically, with a slight rise once again in December.

Early in autumn, Copeland announced that the epidemic had been checked.[36] Subsequent stories, however, offered quotes and statistics from Copeland's office showing a rise in cases. Copeland and other health officials explained and debated the closure of schools and businesses, and gave advice on how to avoid the flu. In an October 19 editorial, the *Times* offered a reprint of previously published "suggestions." The first is "obey all the orders of the Health Department."[37]

A few *Times* articles dealt with reported scientific breakthroughs, including a three-paragraph report of a test cure developed by a Pittsburgh doctor[38] and a one-paragraph item of the isolation of the flu microbe in Paris.[39] These reports of specific scientific breakthroughs (which turned out to be spurious) were short and few in *The Times.* The news article from Pittsburgh tells, in a brief three paragraphs, of a "cure or preventive" consisting of "a hypodermic injection of a sterile solution." The treatment, an-

nounced by Dr. George F. Baer, not only cured patients in acute stages of the flu, but also successfully inoculated all employees of a local bank, according to information supplied by Baer. Despite the dramatic nature of the story, it received minimal play.

Also present but rare were stories about individual victims. These individuals were invariably high-profile male authority figures, including King Alfonzo of Spain, a British Embassy attaché,[40] and Madison Peters, a well-known New York minister and author.[41] Peters' obituary, featured at the top of page 23 on 13 October 1918, is the longest of these articles but includes only a brief mention of the flu as cause of death. In December, the *Times* ran a lengthy special Christmas feature summarizing "New York's 100 Neediest (influenza) Cases,"[42] but while the story outlined the cases of both male and female victims of various ages and backgrounds, most were identified by only their first names or by description: "widowed mother," "five-year-old invalid," or "thrifty father."

Far more common were stories reporting on the efforts and actions of government in attempting to curb infection, and stories focusing on trends of mortality and infection. Half of the *Times* stories dealt with governmental policies designed to control the pandemic. Typically, these stories focused on closures of schools and places of business, or ordinances dealing with sanitation or overcrowding. More than 55 percent of *Times* stories included numbers illustrating infection and mortality trends in specific geographic areas or army camps.

Survey. During the three-month period studied, *Survey* printed eight articles about the influenza. These stories were typically longer and dealt with more complex social issues than the *Times* articles. *Survey* correspondents discussed at length efforts not just by governmental agencies, but also social agencies and volunteers in offering relief for victims. Unique among all the articles examined in this study is a November 9 feature in *Survey*. "A Brotherhood of Misericordia" was the only article in the four publications carrying the byline of a woman correspondent and included detailed descriptions of flu victims, including people of various ethnicities and nationalities. The article, a first-person account of conditions at local hospitals, used description of suffering rather than facts and numbers to explain the disease. "Frequently a delirious patient would pull at the coverings hanging from the bed above him until they fell to the floor," the correspondent wrote, "...coarse blankets lay heavy over gasping lungs."[43]

However, *Survey* articles also share common themes with the other publications. Most notably, half of the articles included infection and mortality figures. Seven of the eight stories focused on governmental and public policy actions as responses to the influenza.

Science. Despite its scientific focus and audience, *Science* framed the Spanish flu story as a governmental problem. Of the four publications analyzed, *Science* published the fewest influenza-related stories in the last quarter of 1918. Only four stories appeared, two of them consisting almost entirely of tables containing Bureau of Census mortality figures for cities across the country. A third story described the outbreak and spreading of the pandemic in U.S. army camps, while the fourth summarized actions of the U.S. Public Health Service. All four items in *Science* feature information supplied by United States agencies.[44]

Scientific American. The six stories published in *Scientific American* or *Scientific American Supplement* offered the most detailed scientific theories for the inception and spread of the flu. Theories regarding specific bacteria, the influence of weather patterns, and even the possibility that insects carry the disease were all present. On 2 November, *Scientific American* published its longest Spanish Influenza story of the quarter. A full page and a quarter, including four photographs of people wearing masks for protection, outlined the history of influenza pandemics, described the course of the disease, gave advice for prevention and treatment, and discussed the behavior of a specific suspected cause — the Pfeiffer bacillus.[45] Unlike the other three publications, governmental policies and figures representing trends in infection only appeared in one article. But like *The New York Times* and *Science*, only authoritative sources appeared as key actors.

Summary. All four publications focused on efforts by either the medical science community or the government to explain and control the pandemic. Few articles focused on the plights of individual victims and their families. Two notable exceptions occurred: the special *New York Times* Christmas feature soliciting donations to the poor and the first-person report in *Survey* from a female correspondent on conditions at a care home for the sick.[46] *Scientific American* described the symptoms of the disease, the specific viruses suspected of causing the pandemic, the history of past epidemics, and current research by scientists. These articles explored a variety of possible conditions leading to the severity of the pandemic.

While relying on the scientific model of germ theory as an explanation for the flu's spread, *The New York Times*, *Survey,* and *Science* focused much more on specific events, casualty figures, or public policy decisions connected with the pandemic. The vast majority of stories in the *Times*, for instance, told of public health decisions to close businesses and schools, to stagger business hours, or to cancel sporting and cultural events in an attempt to control overcrowding and contact with infected persons. Emphasis was placed on the pandemic's impact on business and industry. This

heavy reliance on government-supplied facts and solutions was also apparent in *Survey* and *Science*.

Source

As Mindich and others have suggested, any journalistic focus on faith or fate as causes or cures of disease seemed to have evaporated by 1918. None of the four periodicals used religious authorities as sources, and none suggested a link between a religious power and the devastating pandemic. Likewise, none of the publications used flu victims as sources.

Instead, a few accepted expert sources appeared again and again in stories about the flu. *Science* rarely identified individual people as sources, but rather built its articles on information supplied by governmental agencies, again indicating parallels between science journalism and mainstream journalism when it comes to construction of reality. *Scientific American* cited members of the medical science community as sources in the majority of its influenza stories. In *The New York Times*, governmental officials, mostly public health officials, were the primary sources of information. The commissioner of the New York Health Department was the most frequently cited individual source in the *Times*. In *Survey*, 75 percent of all stories used public health sources, while 50 percent used medical science sources. *Survey* alone featured the actions and comments of individual women in its stories.

Table 2: Use of Identified Individuals as Sources

	Articles using medical/scientific sources	Articles using public health sources	Articles using military sources	Articles using flu victims as sources
New York Times	13.8 percent (9 of 65 articles)	43.1 percent (28 articles)	10.8 percent (7 articles)	none none
Survey	50 percent (4 of 8 articles)	75 percent (6 articles)	none	none
Scientific American	66.7 percent (4 of 6 articles)	none	none	none
Science	none	25 percent (1 of 4 articles)	25 percent (1 article)	none

Framing

In each of the publications, repeated metaphors and themes created limited story frames. The "biomilitaristic" language noted by Montgomery appeared in all four publications, not just the mainstream press, to tell this story as a battle between man and the disease. In fact, *The New York Times* — the only daily newspaper in the sample and the publication with the largest general audience — relied on the military metaphor least often, with militaristic language appearing in only 19 percent of all stories. One of the most obvious examples of biomilitaristic framing appeared in *Science* on 8 November 1918. The pandemic was described in terms of "violence" and "attack." The story, credited to Major George A. Soper of the U.S.A. Sanitary Corps, constructed a scenario in which military officials battle the outbreak of influenza in army camps.[47]

While the man-battles-disease theme was present in each publication, only *Scientific American* framed this conflict as one between men of science and biological forces. The other three publications treated the story as a fight by governmental officials to control the spread of disease. *Times*' headlines reflected this frame by highlighting the actions and observations of New York Health Commissioner Royal Copeland and other public health "experts."[48] A 16 November 1918 *Survey* article also reflected the government-versus-disease frame by quoting an "eminent public health authority" and reporting "it seems to the public health forces but rational to think that the one or several hundred million dollars which would be needed for health preparedness and fighting epidemics on a large scale would be well spent and could be afforded by a great and rich country."[49]

In all four publications, the principal players in these conflicts were high-profile males designated as having specialized knowledge, which allowed them to speak with authority. If women were mentioned within stories, it was usually through a call for more nurses or Red Cross volunteers, or as unnamed mothers or widows in need of help. Immigrants and ethnic minorities were rarely a part of the influenza story.

These frames served to limit journalistic discourse, even in scientific publications, to themes emphasizing authority and obedience, while marginalizing anyone who fell outside the white male power structure of early twentieth century America. The four publications did not simply provide facts about the pandemic, they constructed cultural narratives that supported the status quo and the authority of government and scientific sources.

Discussion and Conclusion

Spanish flu coverage in all four publications indicates that both mainstream journalists and correspondents for scientific publications shared a dependence on scientific philosophy, methodology, and explanation. This relationship manifested itself in two ways. First, both the scientific and mainstream publications accepted scientific models of explanation as basic truth. Nowhere in the data exist appeals to faith or higher powers as causes or cures for the influenza. Instead, the model of infection through direct contact with germs goes unquestioned in news accounts, even if not explicitly stated.

Second, all four publications used similar reporting practices, and those practices clearly appropriated scientific method, particularly objective observation and use of empirical data. Expert sources and the element of conflict were present in all the publications. However, though the four publications shared similar reporting methods and general frames, details and subframes within the stories differed. By appealing to medical and science experts, *Scientific American* constructed stories focusing on man's struggle to understand and control nature through science. *The New York Times, Survey,* and *Science* also used expert sources and empirical data but constructed stories about governmental conflict and intervention. This similarity between *Science* and the two mainstream publications indicates that the publication's connection to the scientific community alone did not necessarily impact framing.

Emphasis on objective method and empirical data did far more than relay medical "truths" to the public — it constructed a journalistic reality that supported existing power structures without question. By focusing on expert sources, scientific explanation, and government-released casualty reports, both scientists and mainstream journalists constructed stories in which elite groups of men were the important players. Scientific figures and facts (or in many cases, guesses) supplanted information about the toll on individuals or families. Reliance on an elite group of expert sources supplanted the voices of those who suffered through the disease. The overwhelming number of stories examined in this study perpetuate the conferral of status on these medical and governmental authorities, while often taking for granted the subordinate positions of average citizens.

This study is designed to provide historical context to current debates regarding the quality and effects of health and medical reporting. By examining news frames in 1918 health and medical reporting, it can be better understood how scientific method combined with journalistic norms and practices may continue to shape coverage of news, particularly important public health issues. Content analysis, however, has certain limitations. First,

motives of reporters and editors in framing news stories may be implied, but not determined. Perhaps more importantly, content analysis can only identify the existence of frames, not their influence on readers or policy makers. While this study serves as an initial attempt to approach questions regarding social construction of health news by media outlets, more work needs to be done on effects of framing on audience perceptions and behavior. Determining audience effects eighty years after the Spanish Flu outbreak poses obvious difficulties. However, these issues could be further explored through a historical study of personal letters and memoirs, letters to the editor, and through an examination of public health policy decisions and debates. Content analyses, like this one, will help identify how journalistic norms have shaped news reports — specifically medical and health information — received by both the general public and scientific communities. Studies on audience responses, however, must also be conducted to fully understand how the relationship between science and journalism impacts mediated construction of reality.

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Sensation and the Century: How Four New York Dailies Covered the End of the Nineteenth Century

by Randall S. Sumpter

Media historians sometimes divide late nineteenth century newspapers into "yellow" or "elite" categories on the basis of whether they indulged in sensationalism. The era's editors and press reformers, however, found it difficult to perform the same task because of disagreements about how sensationalism should be defined and how it should be used. This case study examines the period debate about sensationalism and uses it to evaluate how "elite" and "yellow" New York dailies covered a common story, the end of the nineteenth century. Using 1890s standards, the study found elements in both groups' coverage that could be labeled sensational. In this case, the application of sensation links, rather than separates, the news practices of "elite" and "yellow" journals.

Critics have used the media's coverage of the turn of the millennium as an example of the sensationalism that periodically invades American journalism. They say the press, relying on "alarmist" sources, produced too many stories about "survivalists, crashes, and widespread disaster."[1] Newspapers and broadcast stations, big and small, over staffed their newsrooms on the eve of the New Year in anticipation of society-wide meltdowns that did not occur,[2] and readers, listeners, and viewers complained later that the media should apologize for spreading hysteria.[3] One hundred years ago, newspapers, embroiled in a decade-long debate about how to reform "new journalism's" reliance on sensationalism, also struggled with their end-of-the-century coverage. How did they tell the story?

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Contemporary media historians have found it convenient to use sensationalism as a tool to divide late nineteenth century journals into two schools or camps.[4] Some period experts also used the division. For example, J. Lincoln Steffens divided 1890s newspapers into either "commercial" or "serious" content schools. The two types usually could co-exist profitably only in metropolitan areas like New York City.[5] The commercial newspapers dominated most newspaper markets, but their influence had neared its crest.[6] Commercial papers offered daily sensations to working class and immigrant readers who wanted something to "talk" about, while the serious journals offered "editorials, essays, and important facts" to professional and middle-class readers who wanted something to "think" about.[7] Besides low prices, news and business managers from the commercial school believed "beats," exclusive stories obtained by scooping competitors, and self-promotion were the most effective means of boosting and maintaining circulation.[8] The best beats capitalized on crime, scandal, or gossip.[9] In 1899 and 1900, Joseph Pulitzer's *World* and William Randolph Hearst's *Journal & Advertiser* epitomized this content formula. Both sold for a penny on weekdays and a nickel on Sundays. Each claimed a daily circulation exceeding half a million.[10] Partly as a result of their competition for readers, the two publishers drove the commercial formula to its "yellow journalism" extreme.

To survive in markets similar to those dominated by the *World* and the *Journal*, other publishers pursued smaller, more exclusive readerships that advertisers valued at a premium.[11] Some developed reputations as authorities on business, politics, or other subjects; others simply produced editorials and news stories at high literacy levels.[12] Adolph Ochs' *New York Times* and Edwin L. Godkin's *New York Evening Post* pursued this alternative strategy.[13]

Praise from the Trade Press

Rather than promote beats, Ochs and Godkin relied on the trade press and advertisements to impress readers and merchants. For example, *The Fourth Estate*, a trade weekly, noted the *Evening Post's* scholarly and "dignified" editorials and news columns were a place where:

> Sensational articles find no market. . . . The news stories are written without spread-eagleism, tersely and with a view of giving accurate information. You will find no two or three-column spread heads, no pictures, no fancy display type in the *Evening Post*, but you will find what most refined and educated people like—all the news presented in simple, understandable English.[14]

The business and financial community valued the three-penny *Evening Post's* coverage, the trade journal author noted, even though it published no Sunday edition.[15] Other trade publications were equally lavish in praising Godkin's news standards and commercial success.[16] With its reputation for accuracy, political news, and thoughtful editorials, the *Evening Post* also exerted an influence on opinion and policy leaders beyond its 25,000 daily circulation.[17] Ochs published the *Times*, whose circulation grew from about 76,000 per day in September 1899 to 100,000 in 1901,[18] as an impartial newspaper of record for middle-class readers. When the *Times* sliced its weekday price from three cents to a penny in late 1898, the newspaper's management hurried to explain that it intended to serve readers for whom both price and quality were considerations without joining the yellow journals.[19]

Commercial and serious schools might eschew each other's news judgment, but did they perform differently when circumstances forced them to cover the same events? This study answers that question by examining the late nineteenth century definition of sensationalism and by evaluating newspaper coverage of a single topic, the turn of the century. It compares the *fin de siecle*-related stories, the format in which they were offered to readers, and the accompanying editorial commentary in two "yellow" journals, the *World* and the *Journal*, and two "serious" newspapers, the *Times* and the *Evening Post.* December 1899, January 1900, December 1900, and January 1901 editions of the newspapers were examined.[20]

The study found all the newspapers covered some of the same century-related stories. The yellow dailies, however, linked the century's end to jingoistic predictions, self-promoting scoops, and crime news. The *Times* and *Evening Post* tempered optimistic predictions about the future with stories about possible shortages. The yellow journals reported century-related stories both in routine news columns and special supplements while the *Evening Post* and *Times* devoted few of their routine news columns to century stories.[21] The *Times* mostly covered the end of the century on its editorial page, including a ten-column, unsigned review of the century's accomplishments. The *Evening Post* summarized the century in two, fourteen-page sections added to a Saturday edition. Editorial writers from the two schools also offered readers different interpretations of the century. Using 1890s standards, the study found aspects of both groups' coverage that could be labeled sensational.

Remaking Journalism

The changes that drove newspapers either into the commercial or the serious camps predated Joseph Pulitzer's introduction of "new journalism" to a crowded New York City newspaper market in 1883.[22] Late-nineteenth-century technology greatly extended a newspaper's ability to gather, illustrate, and produce the news, and editors and publishers generally capitalized quickly on these changes. In the fall of 1890 alone, four major New York dailies switched from hand composition to typesetting machines.[23] Editors also found that their new technological assets made it possible to experiment with the contents of their publications and to quickly print larger newspapers.[24] Some began emphasizing local news and illustrations for a mass audience. Even nineteenth-century observers noted the changes:

> Fifteen and even ten years ago not nearly so much value was placed on local news by newspaper proprietors as is the case to-day. Then the city editor and his staff of reporters were thought to be merely of secondary importance, the editorial or leader writers, who commented on the news and discussed public questions, always taking precedence. . . . This is an era in which the public evidently cares more for facts than for anything else, and so it has come about that the city editor of a New York newspaper is pretty nearly if not quite the most important member of the staff.[25]

New journalism publishers soon were devoting three-quarters of their newsgathering budget to local stories and to the dozens of reporters needed to gather it.[26] Worse yet, the commercial dailies, whether in New York or elsewhere, published stories about sports, including illegal prizefights, and spiced their pages with "hideous pictures" and large headlines.[27]

The reaction to the Pulitzer-brand of journalism paralleled the reception that "penny press" sensationalism received in the 1830s and 1840s.[28] A debate on editorial pages and in magazines over what path American journalism should pursue accompanied the changes.[29] Proponents of more conservative approaches claimed the new journalism produced "one-cent crimes"[30] with content "addressed frankly and without disguise to readers to whom life is largely made up of rapes, suicides, murders, adulteries, fights, swindles, forgeries, elopements, parricides, and falls of pastors."[31] When the reformers and serious journalists discussed news standards, they wrote about impartiality[32] and unbiased or "uncolored" reporting.[33] They wanted accuracy, fairness, and proportion to differentiate their work from the yellow journals.[34] The sensationalists responded by calling their critics "cult-

ists."[35] They argued that flawless accuracy and impartiality were not their goals. Their priority was producing results for the readers.[36]

In 1890, Godkin called for a line to be drawn "somewhere between news which may be usefully and legitimately served up to him [the reader] on his breakfast-table, and news which would either do him no good or to which he has no fair claim."[37] Press partisans spent the remainder of the decade arguing about how and where the line should be drawn.

The Sensation Continuum

Some urged that sensationalism be excluded completely from newspapers. A *Harper's Weekly* writer believed "a series of guessing contests and prize competitions" should be substituted for the "blood-curdling news romances of crime and tales of domestic infelicities."[38] Alfred Harmsworth, editor of the *London Daily Mail*, suggested a newspaper trust or cooperative be created, one powerful enough to share profits and produce quality newspapers while preventing new competitors from resorting to the sensational formula. The trust also would eliminate the competitive pressures that forced existing editors to print "trivial non-news" before competitors used it.[39] An anonymous contributor to the *Dial* argued that only a keener sense of ethics could cure the problem. Appropriate standards should require a newspaper to function "in the scientific spirit, placing accuracy of statement above all other considerations" and displaying the news collected for its "real rather than sensational values."[40]

Solutions like Harmsworth's were impractical. Because of its commercial success, new journalism could never be stuffed back into its Pandora's box.[41] More thoughtful reformers argued instead that sensational content fit into a continuum. Some uses of sensation were legitimate; others were not. The trade press applauded Godkin for covering "sensational" political corruption stories and condemned the *New York Times'* management for its frequent but unsuccessful attempts at exposing a "sensational" life insurance fraud.[42] Most newspapers were expected to bias or "color" their political coverage to match reader and publisher preferences.[43] The Associated Press's New York manager even believed newspapers should print rumors "to develop the truth by agitation."[44] Others recommended publishing limited doses of sensational crime and punishment news because it benefited public morals by discouraging imitators.[45]

Pulitzer and his imitators represented the continuum's extreme. Reformers criticized them not because they applied sensation to the accepted situations, but because they used it more often and included a wider range of story topics. In these cases, sensation invaded the privacy of both ordinary and public citizens by printing gossip and by providing multiple ex-

amples of criminal behavior that some readers might imitate.[46] Commercial journalism was harmful because it held a selective "mirror up to social life"[47] and reproduced the mirror's reflection so often that "a phantom world in which there is no calm, no monotony, and no successful, steady work"[48] was created. Before the turn of the eighteenth century, newsgatherers might claim their excursions into sensation constituted cautionary tales for the reader.[49] The "penny press" sensations might be excused partly as entertainment and partly as allegorical truth.[50] But, yellow journalism peddled sensationalism so often and in so many varieties that it constructed a false and harmful reality for readers.[51]

The late-nineteenth-century definition of sensation was flexible. Sometimes, editors from both camps agreed upon its use, as in political reporting; sometimes, they did not, as in reporting the private lives of important people. Repeatedly revisiting a story could be considered sensational and so could the use of illustrations and large, multi-column headlines. In reporting the end of the nineteenth century, both serious and commercial journals would benefit from the elastic nature of the definition.

Covering the Century

All the dailies found it necessary to answer the same question that had troubled their predecessors a century earlier—when did the new century begin, 1 January 1900, or 1 January 1901? This dispute stretched back to the introduction in 1582 of the Gregorian calendar. The calendar's drafters provided no "zero" year in the transition between B.C. and A.D. so the first millennium began with A.D. 1 and ended on New Year's Day 1001.[52] *Times* editorialists branded this issue the "Century Dispute"[53] and complained that since the fall of 1898 they had received "almost daily letters asking for information about when the twentieth century begins."[54] The issue was one that "people insist on talking about, and that is enough to show they find in it a mysterious uncertainty."[55] To resolve this problem for its readers, the *Times* appealed to an authority and to historical precedent. The newspaper's editorialists reviewed partisan press era newspapers from 1799 and 1800 and concluded that even at the height of the Jefferson-Burr presidential campaign, readers had troubled editors about the same issue. After a fruitless effort to banish the "Century Dispute" from its letters to the editor column, the *Times* asked Captain C. H. Davis, superintendent of the U.S. Naval Observatory, for a definitive ruling.[56] Davis wrote:

> The twentieth century commences with the 1st day of January 1901. An "opinion" that it commences with the 1st day of January, 1900, if logically sustained, must rest upon the assumption that the enumeration of the years of the Christian era, unlike any other arithmetical series to which serial numbers are, have been, or can be assigned, commences with zero instead of one . . . an assumption which is manifestly untenable . . . .[57]

The *Evening Post* disposed of the "Century Dispute" with a short, page-fifteen item in its last Saturday edition of 1899. The story noted that the nineteenth century would end at midnight, 31 December 1900, and that the twentieth century would have twenty-four leap years, contain 36,525 days, and reach its midpoint on 1 January 1951.[58]

The *World* and *Journal* agreed in both editorials and stories that 1 January 1901, theoretically marked the beginning of a new century, but for the purposes of their working-class readers, the new century would begin on 1 January 1900:

> It really doesn't make a bit of difference whether the twentieth century begins to-morrow or not. New York proposes to celebrate to-night [31 December 1899] and to-morrow just as if it did. Any way, we pass from the 1800's [*sic*] to the 1900's [*sic*]—for most people that is change enough.[59]

Having embraced the "theoretically" correct position of the *Times* and the *Evening Post*, the *World* and *Journal* "scooped" their competitors by publishing end-of-the-century supplements in their Sunday, 31 December 1899, editions. The supplements, however, represented a fraction of the *World* and *Journal's* century coverage. The newspapers reported often on century-related stories, beginning in mid-December and continuing through their Sunday, 7 January, editions. Their effort also used photographs, line drawings, maps, and cartoons.

"Experts" Assess the Century

To fill the 31 December supplements, the *World* and *Journal* recruited experts from a variety of fields to assess the century's achievements and, in some cases, to forecast developments in the twentieth century. Local officials and academics from New York universities dominated the *World's* panel of experts. The *Journal* cast a wider net. John P. Holland, inventor of the Holland submarine torpedo boat, wrote about the future of submarine navigation, and Professor S. P. Langley, director of the Smithsonian Institute,

predicted manned flight within the next ten years. Holland and Langley believed submarines and airplanes would be employed first as weapons. E. A. Kinnelly, president of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, believed the practical applications of electrical power would not be exhausted until 1950. "Electro-mobile" vehicles certainly would be used for transportation within cities. Explorer Henry M. Stanley assessed the status of African exploration and concluded that little was left to discover. *World* contributors included bandmaster John Phillip Sousa, ex-mayor William L. Strong, and ex-police chief Thomas Byrnes. Suffragists Julia Ward Howe and Susan B. Anthony contributed to both supplements. Elsewhere in its forty-six-page Sunday edition, the *World* used nine additional stories and editorials about the turn of the century. The fifty-two-page *Journal*, published on the same day, included five other stories and editorials about the century's end. The newspapers' slimmer New Year's editions continued the trend. The ten-page *World* included four stories that chronicled midnight celebrations in New York, reported the city's first marriage of the new century, and predicted the future population of the United States. The twelve-page *Journal* included five stories and editorials similar to those published in the *World*.

The *Evening Post* devoted the bulk of its 12 January 1901 supplement to analyzing the country's economic infrastructure, but the newspaper sparsely illustrated the special sections with single column cuts and financial tabulations. Andrew Carnegie wrote on the development of steel manufacturing; Eugene T. Chamberlain, U.S. Commissioner of Navigation, described similar developments in the U.S. merchant marine. Two features described the railway system; another evaluated the country's gold production, which was expected to climb as prospectors developed the deposits around Nome, Alaska. Besides the inevitable stories on the fine and performing arts and the wonders of electricity, the supplement included long essays on England, Canada, Russia, China, and Japan. With the exception of its special edition, the *Evening Post*, like the *Times*, seldom covered century-related topics.

Crime Waves and "Centenarian" Interviews

The yellow journals blended some story topics into their century-end coverage that would resonate with local, working-class readers. These topics included crime in New York City's streets and tenements and interviews with centenarians. The *Journal* launched its end of the century "crime wave" with a story in the *American Magazine* on 17 December 1899. Topped with a "Murder Epidemic In This Locality" headline, the story noted that in the past twelve years four hundred New Yorkers had been murdered including "eight dissolute women" thought to be victims of "Jack the Strangler."[60]

Sixty of the homicides remained unsolved. The *Journal* offered two theories to explain the murder rate:

> Physicians are inclined to ascribe it to the high pressure of end of the century civilization, which drains the vitality and saps the nerve force of the strongest men. Practical observers, on the other hand, declare that the increase of all forms of homicide is due to the inefficiency of the police in tracking murderers to earth.[61]

The *Journal* reporter favored the latter theory because murder by poisoning, a difficult crime for investigators to detect, had increased to an "unprecedented extent" in the last two years of the century. The *World* believed the century-end crime problem was robbery, not murder. It summarized in a single story the details of thirty-two muggings and robberies that had occurred in the city during December 1899.[62] The story noted that bold thieves victimized both men and women at all hours of the day. A week later, the *World*, working from statistics provided by government and business agencies, explored the probabilities that the average New Yorker would meet a violent death in the new century.[63] The *World* calculated a reader's chances of committing a murder and escaping punishment at one in three and of being a murder victim at one in 66,666. The same reader's chance of committing a murder and being sent to the electric chair was one in 1,466,652. The probability of dying in a fire, the *World* reported, was greater at one in twenty-five thousand.

Favorite centenarian interview subjects included former slaves who reportedly had met George Washington and immigrants from Ireland and Italy. The *World* initiated the scramble for these stories by interviewing a 111-year-old former slave. Although the ex-slave said he had not met Washington, the *World* story speculated, "[I]t is not at all impossible that he actually did see the great man."[64] In the same issue that contained its end of the century supplement, the *Journal* published a feature illustrated with photographs of the "Seven Oldest People in America."[65] The story included an interview with 129-year-old Mary MacDonald, the oldest person in the country for which there was "an authentic record." A former slave and resident of a Philadelphia retirement home, Mrs. MacDonald recollected meeting Washington in 1777 at Valley Forge. Mrs. Sarah Doran Terry, 108, also recalled seeing Washington in Philadelphia. Isaac Brock, 111, had not met Washington, but he told the *Journal* he had fought in four wars—the War of 1812, the Republic of Texas's war of independence, the Mexican War, and the Civil War. The *Journal's* story also included interviews with 107-year-old Irish immigrant Michael Mooney and 110-year-old Italian immigrant Mrs. Celestina Nigro. The *World* responded a week later by

publishing interviews with another collection of centenarians. The second story included Mrs. Nigro, Mrs. MacDonald, and Mr. Mooney.[66]

A "Century of Marvels"

The four newspapers agreed that the nineteenth century's scientific and business strides had been vast. The *Times* even uncharacteristically referred to it as a "century of marvels."[67] The newspapers summarized the closing century's achievements in what the *Times* referred to as "numberless current enumerations" either on editorial pages or in news columns or both. These lists generally included two parts. One section was devoted to scientific discoveries, including exploration, and the other, to great inventions. In addition to the obvious steam- and electric-powered transportation and communication developments, most lists included Wilhelm Roentgen's "invention" of X-rays and the use of anesthesia during surgery. In the category of scientific discoveries, all the newspapers included Charles Darwin's theory of evolution and John Dalton's atomic theory of chemical combinations.

While the newspapers agreed that scientific progress was an important nineteenth century achievement, they disagreed about why this progress was important and whether it was unlimited. For the *Journal*, science merely had set "nature's treasure vault ajar" for exploitation by industry.[68] The twentieth century would open a "practical millennium more glorious than the visions of the Apostle [Paul],"[69] and industrial invention and efficiency would speed the "good life" to all.[70] Both yellow journals predicted that American enterprise and ingenuity would make the nation the twentieth century's dominant power. The *Journal* justified imperialism, especially "dollar" imperialism, as a legacy of the country's past:

> They [the Pilgrims] were neither much better nor much worse than the average American citizen to-day. No doubt they wanted the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, but six days in the week they had an incredibly keen eye for the main chance.[71]

What the Pilgrims' descendants should inherit was evident to the *Journal*. Illustrations in the newspaper's century supplement showed a United States stretching from the North to the South poles. Henry P. Johnston, professor of history at the College of the City of New York, wrote that a United States dominating the entire Western Hemisphere was not "unthinkable" if the nation consolidated its colonial possessions by swapping the Philippines for the British West Indies.[72] Earlier *Journal* contributors had worked out the logistics for administering the hemispheric United States. The final configuration required eighty-five states, a navy with eighty-five

battleships and 395 other vessels, and a fleet of "express aerodomes" [*sic*] based on Professor Langley's flight experiments to connect the new capital, Mexico City, with the rest of the nation.[73] Elsewhere, evil Spain would be partitioned by other world powers; Germany would swallow up France, and the pope would move to Rio de Janeiro. Anglo-Saxons would rule the world with America first among nations and Great Britain a distant second. America's future, according to *Journal* lead writers, was unlimited: "We are colossal in area, colossal in commercial growth, colossal in strength, wealth and influence and colossal in potentialities."[74]

The yellow journals' foray into jingoism was not unique. *Evening Post* contributors indulged in a milder form. For example, the author of a story about electricity observed that American mechanics were superior to their foreign counterparts:

> The first thought, apparently, of an American mechanic when he looks at a piece of foreign-made electrical apparatus is, how can I improve it? He speedily tears it to pieces, puts in screws that are interchangeable, takes out clumsy devices, reduces the weight, removes useless lacquer, and makes a new thing of it—if he does not throw the whole affair into a rubbish heap and proceed to build a machine on an idea which he has grasped.[75]

While the *Journal* and *World* predicted infinite prosperity and an America dominating the world political stage, the *Evening Post* and the *Times* interpreted the future differently. Both believed some of the country's resources were finite. The *Times* predicted a shortage within fifty years of structural lumber, which was being consumed for firewood, for charcoal needed in iron production, for paper production, and for the clearing of farmland.[76] An *Evening Post* reporter speculated natural gas production would fail to meet demand within a generation.[77]

The Path of Science

Evening Post editorialists also argued that the nineteenth century was not a "Golden Age," only a "tolerable companion."[78] Scientists, they wrote, should not be valued for the useful discoveries that they made, but for their strict adherence to a method that valued truth above all else. The lead article in the newspaper's century review echoed these sentiments. It noted that in the eighteenth century, science had meant systematizing knowledge. In the nineteenth-century, however, science meant "a mode of life; not knowledge, but the devoted, well-considered life pursuit of knowledge."[79] A single, most important nineteenth century scientist could not be named, the story

claimed, because two or more individuals independently pursuing similar research agendas usually made the same discoveries.

On 1 January 1901, the *Times* devoted more than half of its century review editorial to a description of the evolution and advancement of political freedom during the nineteenth century. The *Times* declared: "The onward march of freedom has been the nineteenth century's noblest achievement" because without personal liberty and tolerance, most of the "inventors and discoverers of the nineteenth century would have been publicly hanged had they burst untimely upon the world."[80]

The four newspapers did agree that developments in printing and newsgathering were among the century's significant achievements. Their editorialists and reporters argued that the press, which made it cheaper to reproduce knowledge, deserved credit for the progress mankind had made during the century.[81] A 3 January 1901 *Topics of the Times* observed that the nineteenth century should receive credit for producing the only printing press "really deserving of the name, the only printing press that meets the demands of modern civilization, and to no inconsiderable degree makes the civilization possible."[82] While the editorial noted that presses built from iron were introduced at the end of the eighteenth century, it explained that for another generation after that the press remained hand powered. Inexpensive, mass produced books and newspapers were not possible until steam or electricity were harnessed to a "power press":

> Now the newspaper of to-day, despite all criticisms, deserved and undeserved, is the most influential, and therefore the most important, product of the time. Without the power press, the newspaper would have remained an utterly different and practically another thing, and what the reader of *The Times*, for instance, gets this morning for a cent he could not get at any price.[83]

The telegraph, telephone, steamship, and locomotive also had improved the newsgathering arts by making timely publication of the news possible. A hundred years earlier, the New York press often published two-month-old or older foreign news. Those journals also depended upon "private letters that thoughtful merchants would kindly turn over to the editor"[84] for week-old news from neighboring cities.

If the nineteenth century produced the only press worthy of the name, the *Journal*, which claimed to be "The 20th Century Newspaper,"[85] boasted it owned the most advanced and most profitable examples. In a 10 December 1899 feature, the newspaper promoted its R. Hoe & Company presses as the largest and most complex in the world. These presses, "more intricate than any locomotive, a wonderful complication of wheels, levers, rollers and strange metal shape,"[86] were capable of producing 912,000, eight-page,

four-color papers per hour. The wealth of newspapers, their technical virtuosity, and the wisdom of their publishers suggested to Hearst that other changes in the national order should be made. In a signed, page-one editorial published on the last Sunday of 1899, he predicted that "government under the guidance of great newspapers" expressing the people's will would be achieved in the twentieth century.[87]

Analysis of the Coverage

In the story of the century, late-nineteenth century definitions of sensation appear more often to link than to divide the content of yellow and serious journals. If sensationalism is defined only as story selection, it might be impossible to decide whether the four newspapers belonged on different sides of Godkin's line. They differed little in their selection of *fin de siecle* topics. All joined in the general debate about when the new century began, predicted what it might bring, and appraised the accomplishments of the closing century. For *World* and *Journal* editors, the century story was another chance to promote their respective publications by "scooping" competitors and praising the results. But, the *Evening Post* and the *Times* also participated in the generic praising of mass journalism as a beneficial institution that reached technical maturity during the nineteenth century. The *World* and *Journal* included crime stories and interviewed centenarians, but the *Times* and *Evening Post* reported about speculative shortages of natural gas and timber. In both cases, the newspapers provided their readers with something out of the ordinary to "talk about."

How the newspapers offered turn-of-the-century stories to readers did differ. But, the *Evening Post's* special edition matched more closely the *World* and *Journal's* efforts than those of the *Times*. The *Times* provided its readers with minimal coverage. The end of the nineteenth century mostly was editorial page fodder, and it mostly was devoted to haggling over accuracy issues that the *World* and *Journal* considered trivial. For the *Times*, the turn of the century was not worth the extraordinary editorial effort needed to produce a special supplement to compete with the *World*, *Journal*, or *Evening Post*.

Judging by the flexible "sensation" standards of the 1890s, the key differences between the two groups of newspapers were how often they provided the stories and how they evaluated the century's accomplishments. The yellow journals reported on century-related stories more often than the serious newspapers. All the newspapers interpreted the nineteenth century on their editorial pages and news columns as one in which mankind had made great progress that would continue, a common nineteenth century theme.[88] However, when they told their readers how to "think about" the

century's accomplishments, the two groups burnished very different mirrors. The message for readers of the *World* and *Journal* was that American material and political progress, aided by science, was unstoppable like a locomotive or a new Hoe press. While the individual reader might join in the patriotic scramble for his "main chance" at prosperity, he would have to make his way in a society populated by unpunished murderers and muggers who might seize his profits. In the meantime, he could take heart in reading the apocryphal tales of immigrants who had met George Washington. The message for readers of the *Times* and *Evening Post* was to value intellectual, not material progress. The past hundred years had been a "tolerable companion" as centuries went, and science should not be prized for producing discoveries but for invigorating the pursuit of truth. The partnership between science and intellectual prosperity, not science and material prosperity, should preoccupy the reader.

Endnotes

1 Piet van Lier, "Hit or Miss?" *Quill*, January/February 2000, 17.

2 Joe Strupp, "Midnight in Y2K garden of calm and cleanup," *Editor and Publisher*, 10 January 2000, 10.

3 Eric Lichtblau, "U.S. weighs gains, risks in warning of terror," *Los Angeles Times*, 25 December 1999, sec. A, 1; Douglas Spangler, "Media hype of Y2K problems was irresponsible [Letter to the Editor]," *St. Petersburg Times*, 5 January 2000, sec. A, 13; Gene Pasillas, "Orthodox Christians will explore the apocalypse," *Los Angles Times*, 29 January 2000, sec. B, 6.

4 Schudson found that the division represented two ideals or models of journalism—the ideal of the story represented by the *World* and the *Journal* and the ideal of information represented by the *Times*. See Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1978), 89-90. Mindich also found the "two schools" idea to be useful, but he used it to advance a different explanation for changes in American journalism. See David. T. Z. Mindich, *Just the Facts: How "Objectivity" Came to Define American Journalism* (New York & London: New York University Press, 1998).

5 "The Value of Character," *Newspaperdom*, March 1894, 426.

6 Andie Tucher, *Froth and Scum: Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and the Ax Murder in America's First Mass Medium* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 197, 205. Tucher suggested that the yellow journals became less popular after their treatment of President William McKinley was linked to his assassination in 1901. History texts usually cite a combination of reasons, including market saturation. See, for instance, William D. Sloan and James D. Startt, eds., *The Media in America: A History*, 4th ed. (Northport,

AL: Vision Press, 1999), 221-246. See John D. Stevens, *Sensationalism and the New York Press* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 100, for an assessment of the *World* and *Journal*'s influence with imitators.

7 J. Lincoln Steffens, "The Business of a Newspaper (The Conduct of Great Businesses—Sixth Paper)," *Scribner's Magazine*, October 1897, 458. To prepare his *Scribner's* piece, Steffens interviewed editors, managers, and proprietors of about a hundred newspapers in New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco, Richmond, Baltimore, Washington, and smaller cities and towns.

8 Randall S. Sumpter, "'Censorship Liberally Administered': Press, U.S. Military Relations in the Spanish-American War," *Communication Law and Policy* 4 (1999): 476.

9 Brooke Kroeger, *Nellie Bly: Daredevil, Reporter, Feminist* (New York: Time Books, 1994), 87.

10 This estimate is based on unaudited, self-reports of circulation. The *World* claimed a weekly circulation of 5,234,221 for 1899; the *Journal*, a monthly circulation of 21,224,298 for December 1899. See "The World's Greatest Year," *New York World*, 23 December 1899, 6, and "The Record of 1899," *New York Journal & Advertiser*, 2 January 1900, 8.

11 Gerald Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 115. Baldasty illustrates this point by comparing the ad rates of the *Evening Post* and the *World*.

12 Day Allen Willey, "The Development of the Modern Newspaper," *Era*, May 1903, 422.

13 Tucher, *Froth and Scum*, 197; Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post: A Century of Journalism* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968); Gay Talese, *The Kingdom and the Power* (New York: Bantam Books, 1969).

14 "The *Evening Post*'s Editor Horace White Now Editor-In-Chief Of the Powerful New York Paper," *The Fourth Estate*, 6 January 1900, 4.

15 The *Evening Post* claimed that the 573,555 agate lines of financial ads that it published in its 309 issues for 1899 represented a higher total than any other single newspaper, including those that published Sunday and holiday editions. See "Evening Post Claims," *The Fourth Estate*, 13 January 1900, 3.

16 See "The Value of Character," 135, and "Edwin Lawrence Godkin," *The Journalist*, 11 July 1891, 2.

17 This circulation estimate is found in Baldasty, *Commercialization of News*, 115. Nevins, *The Evening Post*, 530, says the newspaper's circulation varied between 14,000 and 20,000.

18 Talese, *Kingdom and Power*, 199, 200.

19 "New York Times Reduces Price From Three To One Cent," *The Fourth Estate*, 13 October 1898, 2.

20 Comparative analyses of the content of nineteenth-century New York City newspapers is difficult because consistent, published indices do not exist for most with the exception of the *New York Times*. The *Times*, however, can be a useful guide to other newspapers' coverage because it frequently commented on the work of competitors. For this study, the *Times'* editorial and news indices between 1 January 1899 and 30 June 1901 were used to locate its turn-of-the-century coverage and to serve as a rough guide to coverage in the other three newspapers. This search indicated two periods of interest: December 1899 – January 1900 and December 1900 – January 1901.

21 Other newspapers tried different approaches. The *New York Herald* published several features in its sixty-eight page, 31 December 1899 edition summarizing the nineteenth century's advances, but it did not compile the stories in a single section. The *New York Sun* covered the end of the century with a piecemeal approach involving special Sunday features in its late 1900 and 1901 editions.

22 Twenty-nine dailies published in New York City, one more than in London. See Alfred Harmsworth, "The Simultaneous Newspapers of the Twentieth Century," *North American Review*, January 1901, 72-90.

23 The four were the *Sun*, the *Times*, the *World*, and the *Herald*. See "A Revolution in Printing," *Scientific American*, 20 September 1890, 176. The magazine estimated the switch would result in the lay-off of half the 1,000 compositors working at these newspapers' morning editions.

24 Richard A. Schwarzlose, *Newspapers: A Reference Guide* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), xxvii, and Marion Tuttle Marzolf, *Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism, 1880-1950* (White Plains, N.Y.: Longman Publishing Group, 1991), 23.

25 "Gathering the Local News," *Harper's Weekly*, 9 January 1891, 42.

26 Eugene M. Camp, "What's The News?" *Century Magazine*, June 1890, 260-262. Camp estimated that American newspapers spent about $16.57 million annually to gather news. Most, $12.5 million, was spent to gather local news.

27 "The Boston Press," *Nation*, 17 March 1892, 206.

28 Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 88-120. Mindich argues intense debates about what should be news always develop when new media challenge old. The debates are followed "by retrenchment and change." See Mindich, *Just the Facts*, 2.

29 The level of debate was high even before the Hearst-Pulitzer years. Between Febuary 1890 and January 1894, twenty-five magazine articles about newspaper content, ethics and newsgathering practices, technology, and other topics were published. See the *Nineteenth Century Reader's Guide To Periodical Literature: 1890-1899 With Supplementary Indexing 1900-1922*. This index covers fifty-one periodicals, a fraction of those published at the time. Godkin contributed five of the articles; four appeared in *Nation*, his private bully pulpit. Marzolf

also notes this high level of debate, estimating it generated about ten articles per year in the 1880s. This rate increased to thirty or more per year in the 1910s. See Marzolf, *Civilizing Voices*, 17.

30 Richard Watson Gilder, "The Newspaper, The Magazine, and The Public," *Century Magazine*, 4 February 1899, 321.

31 "A Point In Journalism," *Nation*, 23 March 1893, 209.

32 Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1989).

33 Richard Streckfuss, "Objectivity in Journalism: A Search and a Reassessment," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 67 (Winter 1990): 973-983.

34 Michael Schudson, "In All Fairness," *Media Studies Journal* 12 (Spring/Summer 1998): 34-41; Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards*, 98, 232.

35 C. R. Miller, "A Word to the Critics of Newspapers," *Forum*, August 1893, 714.

36 See James Creelman, *On the Great Highway: The Wanderings and Adventures of a Special Correspondent* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1901), 174, and "About Yellow Journalism," *New York Journal and Advertiser*, 22 December 1899, 8.

37 E. L. Godkin, "Newspapers Here and Abroad," *North American Review*, February 1890, 201.

38 W. S. Moody, "An Indictment and a Remedy," *Harper's Weekly*, 5 November 1892, 1062.

39 Harmsworth, "Simultaneous Newspapers," 90.

40 "A Newspaper Symposium," *Dial*, 16 August 1893, 79.

41 See John Swinton, "The New York Daily Papers and Their Editors," *The Independent*, 25 January 1900, 238, and Miller, 714.

42 See A. F., "Edwin Lawrence Godkin," *The Journalist*, 11 July 1891, 2, and "Wanted – A Sensation," *The Journalist*, 7 May 1892, 8.

43 John A. Sleicher, "Do The Newspapers Color The News Too Highly?" *Newspaperdom*, June-July 1893, 114.

44 William Henry Smith, "The Press As A News Gatherer," *The Century Magazine*, August 1891, 524-536.

45 E. B. Haskell, "The Modern Newspaper," *The Journalist*, 6 August 1892, 4-5, and Camp, "What's the News," 260-262.

46 See J. G. Speed, "Do Newspapers Now Give The News?" *Forum*, August 1893, 705-711.

47 Arthur J. Dodge, "What Is News – Should The People Get It All?" *Newspaperdom*, June-July 1893, 127-130.

48 "A Feature of Evening Papers," *The Spectator*, 2 December 1893, 795-796.

49 Marvin Olasky, *Central Ideas in the Development of American Journalism: A Narrative History* (Hillsdale, N.J., Hove and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1991).

50 Tucher, *Froth and Scum*, 47, 55-61.

51 Dodge, "What is News"; Speed, "Do Newspapers Now Give the News"; and the anonymous *Spectator* author, "A Feature of Evening Papers," share this central argument.

52 David W. Chen, "Another Countdown to the Millennium Begins," *New York Times*, 10 April 1999, 1.

53 The *Sun* referred to the controversy as the "1900 Delusion" and noted that press improvements permitted the debate to spread beyond the oral circles it had been confined to in earlier centuries. See "New Century Debate In London," *New York Sun*, 31 December 1899, 1, and "Some Calendar Facts," *New York Sun*, 31 December 1899, 5. The *Herald* called the dispute the "endless controversy." See "The Endless End of the Century Controversy," *New York Herald*, 31 December 1899, sec. 6, 11.

54 "Topics of the Times," *New York Times*, 11 January 1899, 6.

55 "Topics of the Times," *New York Times*, 20 December 1899, 6.

56 The *Herald* and the *Sun* sought similar guidance from French astronomer Camille Flammarion.

57 "Topics of the Times," *New York Times*, 12 January 1900, 6.

58 "Facts About The Twentieth Century," *New York Evening Post*, 30 December 1899, 15.

59 "Ring Out the 1800's; Ring In The New 1900," *New York World*, 31 December 1899, 12.

60 "Murder Epidemic In This Locality," *New York Journal & Advertiser, American Magazine*, 17 December 1899, 34.

61 *Ibid.*

62 "City At The Mercy of Highwaymen," *New York World*, 31 December 1899, sec. E, 8.

63 The *World* based its calculations on an estimated 4 million readers in its circulation area. See "Your Chances of Fortune or Disaster This Year and This Century," *New York World*, 7 January 1900, 7.

64 "Prine Likely to Live In Three Centuries," *New York World*, 24 December 1899, 7.

65 "Seven Oldest People in America," *New York Journal & Advertiser*, 31 December 1899, 24.

66 "These Old People Have Lived In Three Centuries," *New York World, Sunday Magazine*, 7 January 1900, 6.

67 "The XIX Century," *New York Times*, 1 January 1901, 8-9.

68 "The Last Year of the Century," *New York Journal & Advertiser*, 31 December 1899, 30.

69 "A New Year's Sermon," *New York World*, 31 December 1899, sec. E, 1.

70 Rev. Dr. Heber Newton, "The Task of The New Century," *New York Journal & Advertiser, American Magazine*, 24 December 1899, 39.

71 John J. Ingalls, "The United States—A Review and a Forecast," *New York Journal & Advertiser, End of the Century Supplement*, 31 December 1899, 24.

72 Henry P. Johnston, "How the World Has Changed," *New York Journal & Advertiser, End of the Century Supplement*, 31 December 1899, 26.

73 Arthur Bird, "A Glance Ahead At Things on This Earth 100 Years From Now," *New York Journal & Advertiser, American Magazine*, 17 December 1899, 12.

74 "Our Increasing National Glory," *New York Journal & Advertiser*, 2 January 1900, 8.

75 John Trowbridge, "Progress of Electricity from 1800 to 1900," *New York Evening Post*, 12 January 1901, sec. 3, 4.

76 "The End of the Lumber Supply," *New York Times*, 31 December 1900, 6.

77 H.T.W., "A Diminishing Fuel," *New York Evening Post*, 6 January 1900, 14.

78 "The Evening Post's Century Number," *New York Evening Post*, 12 January 1901, 4.

79 Charles S. Peirce, "The Century's Great Men In Science," *New York Evening Post*, 12 January 1901, sec. 3, 1.

80 "The XIX Century," 8.

81 Theodore L. De Vinne, "Printing in the Nineteenth Century," *New York Evening Post*, 12 January 1901, sec. 3, 8.

82 "Topics of the Times," *New York Times*, 3 January 1901, 8.

83 *Ibid.*

84 "Local Newspapers In 1800," *New York Times*, 7 January 1900, 8.

85 See the front page "ears" of the *New York Journal & Advertiser* for the 20 December 1899 edition. The same claim appeared in subsequent editions.

86 "Christmas Journal Chief Triumph of Printing Art," *New York Journal & Advertiser*, 10 December 1899, 58.

87 William Randolph Hearst, "The Newspaper of the Twentieth Century," *New York Journal & Advertiser*, 31 December 1899, 1.

88 I. F. Clarke, *The Pattern of Expectation, 1644-2001* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1979).

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Book Review Editor's Note

by Tamara Baldwin, Book Review Editor

If anyone has any doubt that there might be a shortage of works of interest to journalism and mass media historians being produced today, let me put that doubt to rest. The six books and one video reviewed in this issue alone are proof enough that interesting books about journalism and media history abound. Even greater proof is illustrated by the huge stack of books sitting by my desk that were sent to me over the summer for possible review in *American Journalism.* From where I sit, the reading looks very, very rich.

Reviews in this issue of *American Journalism* illustrate that richness. Works reviewed here range from a look at the impact of one South Dakota editor to the way an entire country and people are portrayed in the media. This month's offerings take us back to different times as well. Matthew Bosisio reviews David Dary's book about newspapers in the Old West, and Ronald Ostman looks at Jim Willis' work on how Germany has been portrayed in the American media. Elizabeth Williams' book about South Dakota newspaper editor W.R. Ronald is reviewed for us by Cindie Jeter, and Stephen Bird looks at a collection dealing with the conservative press of the twentieth century edited by William H. Longton and Ronald Lora. Two books reviewed this time examine the underpinnings of the journalism field. David Spencer reviews Robert McChesney's look at the increasing corporate "conglomerization" in media today, and Paulette Kilmer takes a look at Jean Chalaby's book on journalism as an economic force in the United States and Britain. The Editor's Choice this month is a compelling video examining the death of Canadian filmmaker Hugh O'Connor in 1967 guaranteed to provoke some difficult questions about how the media tell other people's stories.

By the way, if you would like to review a book for *American Journalism*, please contact me using the information located in the front of the journal. *American Journalism* welcomes new reviewers as well as those who have reviewed publications in the past.

STRANGER WITH A CAMERA

By Elizabeth Barret. California Newsreel: San Francisco, CA, 2000. 62 min.

In making this video about the murder of a Canadian filmmaker in 1967 in an Eastern Kentucky coal mining community, Elizabeth Barrett has provided a rich opportunity for journalists, photojournalists, filmmakers, videographers, and audiences of all their work to explore a wide range of issues, feelings, and reactions to media coverage.

Barret made this video as part of the Appalachian Film Workshop, and in it she explores the complexities behind a dark moment in her own community's history, the shooting of Hugh O'Connor, a Canadian filmmaker, by landowner Hobart Ison. She grew up in the shadow of this event and in the larger shadow of the poverty of the Appalachian coal mining region.

The specifics about the shooting are these: In the 1960s, attention began to be focused on Appalachia as a center of severe poverty for the majority of its inhabitants after one of its residents, Harry M. Caudill, published a book about the region titled *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*. Many, like a BBC film crew, the *New York Times*, CBS News correspondent Charles Kuralt, and others, came to the region with their cameras, to try to confirm that such stark poverty as Caudill had described could exist in the United States, a land of plenty, and even more importantly, why no one had focused on this before. The region became a "poster child" of sorts for President Johnson's war on poverty, and he and the First Lady visited the region, as did Robert Kennedy. Young and enthusiastic VISTA volunteers, eager to improve the quality of life for residents, came as well. The region became accustomed to the media attention, but not all residents were comfortable with how their communities were being portrayed.

Canadian filmmaker Hugh O'Connor had gained importance as the front man on the *Labyrinthe*, a cutting-edge, five-screen, five-projector film presentation for the 1967 Montreal EXPO, the film that inspired the creation of IMAX. That same year, he and his film crew came to Jeremiah, Kentucky, a coalmining town, to make a film called "US," about the coal miners and their families and how they lived. As they were leaving the town, O'Connor saw a coal miner, still covered with coal dust from the mine, sitting on the front porch of his dilapidated rental house. They stopped and got permission from the miner to film him, and while they were filming, Hobart Ison, the owner of the property, arrived and fired several shots, one of which killed O'Connor. Ison was charged with murder; his first trial in 1968 ended in a hung jury. As his second trial was about to begin, Ison agreed to plead guilty to involuntary manslaughter to serve a prison sen-

tence of ten years. He was convicted of this and was released from prison after one year.

The stark retelling of events surrounding O'Connor's death is skillfully handled by Barret. She blends poignant and disturbing images of poor families from the documentaries and news reports from the 1960s. She weaves in recent interviews with many of the principals touched by the murder, including members of O'Connor's film crew who witnessed the shooting, O'Connor's daughter, and a relative of Hobart Ison. Throughout the video, Barrett asks some tough questions, not only of herself, but of filmmakers, videographers—everyone really in the business of telling someone else's story through the lens of a camera or the written word. What are the storyteller's responsibilities? Who gets to tell the story? Is all that the camera sees the entire story?

What about the people involved? What obligations are there to them in the telling of their story?

The video works well to capture the complexity of telling difficult stories in a way that is fair to all parties. It would be an ideal tool to show to students in news gathering and reporting classes, media ethics, mass media history, as well as photojournalism and film and videography classes. In the video, Elizabeth Barret says that her role as a filmmaker is to tell the story no matter how difficult and to tell fairly what she sees. In her attempt to do this, she has given us much to think about.

> Tamara Baldwin, Southeast Missouri State University

RED BLOOD AND BLACK INK: JOURNALISM IN THE OLD WEST
By David Dary. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1998. 345 pp.

The most impressive element of David Dary's work is its comprehensive nature. Beginning with the *Missouri Gazette*, the first newspaper published west of the Mississippi River, and advancing through boom towns and itinerant printers, the author takes the reader on a sweeping journey that captures both the spirit and the hard realities of journalism in the Old West.

What Dary has produced is akin to a history book on the development of newspapering in the Midwest and West, but much of it reads like anything but history. The writer weaves a tale that depicts, as he puts it, "the flavor, emotion, and color of newspaper journalism" in an untested territory where hardship and danger lived side by side with composing sticks and tearsheets. The danger was so great in some cases that editors worked in the newsroom within easy reach of a six-shooter and walked about town with

one stuffed in their waistbands. Unfortunately, that didn't help J. Clarke Swayze, editor of the *Topeka* (Kansas) *Daily Blade* in 1877. Ambushed by the unhappy subject of a story in his paper, Swayze drew his revolver but lost the exchange of gunfire and died in the alley next to his newspaper office.

Another victim was James King of William, who owned the popular *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*. A rival editor at the *San Francisco Times*, James P. Casey, objected to King of William's reporting of Casey's criminal past. The disagreement ended in the city's streets when Casey fired upon and killed King of William before the latter could draw his weapon. Casey was tried and hung one week later.

Not all disputes between competing newspapers ended in violence—at least not physical. The ink flowed with strong words of abuse to criticize or lampoon opposing editors in an endless effort to attract readers and to demonstrate the writer's prowess.

Such was the case when the *Kansas Weekly Herald* let loose on R.S. Kelley, editor of the Atchison *Squatter Sovereign*: "The low, silly, garrulous numbskull of the *Squatter Sovereign*, yclept Kelley—the contemptible, whining, blind puppy of Atchison, that answers to the name of 'Bob,' continues to pour forth his tirade of abuse upon us with unrelenting fury..."

Dary notes that Kansas, caught between abolitionists and pro-slavery forces, saw more than its share of editorial attacks on rival editors. That was especially true when a free-state editor and a pro-slavery editor mixed it up.

Slavery advocate Thomas J. Key of the *Kansas Constitutionalist*, for example, felt compelled to respond to the insults of free-stater Solomon Miller of the *Kansas Chief*, a newspaper on the other side of the county:

> We would gently hint to the cross-eyed, crank-sided, peaked and long razor-nosed, blue-mouthed, nigger-lipped, white-eyed, soft-headed, long-eared, crane-necked, blobber-lipped, squeaky-voiced, empty-headed, snaggle-toothed, filthy-mouthed, box-ankled, pigeon-toed, reel-footed, goggle-eyed, hammer-hearted, cat-hammed, hump-shouldered, blander-shanked, splaw-footed, ignoble, Black Republican, abolition editor, to attend to his own affairs or we will pitch into him in earnest.

The editorials often may have amused readers, but they pointed to a certain desperation that was inherent in Old West editors. While they wanted to be a part of the great adventure westward, they struggled to make a living and habitually put in long hours to produce a weekly product that knew depredation and long waits for paper and parts. Competition as towns grew made it even more difficult.

Women felt the pressure as much as men, if not more. As many as four hundred women were involved in newspapering in the West in the

latter part of the nineteenth century. These women helped their husbands get out the paper or took over the operations upon the death of a spouse. Others were inspired by the number of women in journalism in Boston and New York and established newspapers on their own. Dary points out that those enterprising editors who followed the westward push helped tame the territory. Their newspapers were bridges between the East and its familiar culture and the new frontier, still full of uncertainty. Editors were early town boosters who sought after good businesses, schools, and government. And, just as in the East, these newspapers were records of all the drama and everyday life that marked the human condition.

Historians have generally neglected this chapter in America's most-important expansion. But Dary demonstrates that newspapers played a significant role in forging the foundation and direction of societies that came to make up the Old West. While perhaps a too-large portion of the book centers on Kansas, from where the author hails, there is sufficient in this volume to recommend it to those interested in the early editors of the American frontier.

>Matthew Bosisio, Northwest Missouri State University

IMAGES OF GERMANY IN THE AMERICAN MEDIA
By Jim Willis. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1999. 193 pp.

During the waning days of World War II in the European theater, both American and Russian troops were driving furiously toward Berlin. Among the U.S. troops, there was the ungainly but fiercely competitive, 83rd Infantry Division, pushing to be first to get there. According to Cornelius Ryan, in his 1966 book *The Last Battle* (Pocket Books), the 83rd was nicknamed the "Rag-Tag Circus" by media correspondents because the Division "was going flat in a weird assortment of hurriedly repainted captured German vehicles: Wehrmacht jeeps, staff cars, ammunition trucks, Mark V and Tiger panzers, motor bikes, buses and two cherished fire engines...(one of which had on its rear bumper)...a large, flapping banner. It read, NEXT STOP: BERLIN" (pp. 119–120).

Willis' book is a rag-tag circus of sorts. It is a mixture of the simple and the profound, the clear, and the cloudy. The reader finds careful arguments and breezy generalizations. The language varies from clumsy to suave. This perhaps is inevitable in an edited book, but it is particularly noticeable in this one. *Images of Germany* has the earmarks of a book put together by an editor on the lookout for serviceable vehicles to be swept along in the rush to publication. In the scramble to assemble material, several questionable choices and selections were made.

The first three chapters, presumably by the editor, deal with Germany as a metaphor (a very general discussion that could be subtitled "how to adapt to/deal with a different culture), German history, politics and people, and U.S. television and newspaper coverage of Germany and the world (mostly "the world"). They are interesting and serve as a basic and common sense introduction to the big world outside of U.S. boundaries. These chapters are based on general history, anecdotal content from network television, material from American and German media scholars' commentaries on news values and intercultural relations, and personal interviews gleaned "from my stint in Germany" (which included a three-month period as a guest professor in Giessen). Sections on German architecture, music, and literature, while they give excellent information to readers specifically interested in those specializations, are not necessary. The editor argues that we need both broad and deep understandings of other cultures. Given this injunction, of course architecture, music, and literature are important. But so are many other things that did not find a place in this book. The margins of my copy bear such notations as "eclectic collection," "eccentric amalgam," and "odd conglomeration." Two chapters will illustrate.

Chapter four by Naewon Kang and Junho Choi, titled "International Newsflow in Cyberspace," features passages of nearly impenetrable prose (unless the reader is a network-analysis, cluster-analysis, or multidimensional-scaling junkie). The editor does not provide a rationale for the chapter's inclusion. From its title, we can surmise it was supposed to provide a broad backdrop for more particular findings, but that's only a guess.

Chapter five, by researcher Robert L. Stevenson and colleagues, is an excellent discourse on the foibles and fortunes of using the computer and software for content analysis. While it is true that Stevenson *et al.* conducted their content analysis on selected German and American newspapers, we learn less of substance about the image of Germany in American media than one would expect based on the title of this book. Stevenson *et al.* are much more focused on the research method of content analysis than on substantive findings here.

Having harped on some chapters of dubious contribution to the book's announced theme, it must be pointed out that several chapters are real gems. However, they clearly stand alone with no need of support from the rest of the book. Chapter six, "The Image of Germany in Books," Chapter seven, "Germans and their Images in Movies," and Chapter eight, "The Reception of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* in the German Media" (by William J. Niven) particularly are noteworthy and will be of interest to historians.

The book ends with two appendices. One is a curious smattering of Internet sites on Germany and its people. The other contains a graduate student's brief research summary of American media coverage of the 1998 German elections, as well as reprinted articles of "insightful looks at Ger-

many" from such disparate sources as *Conde Nast Traveler* and *The Economist*. Let the reader make of them what he or she will, since no guidance is offered.

Ryan, in *The Last Battle*, quotes Colonel Edwin "Buckshot" Crabill of the 83rd Division urging his men onward during World War II: "Don't waste this opportunity...You're on your way to Berlin!...Don't wait to organize! Don't wait for someone to tell you what to do! Get over there in any shaper you can! If you move *now*, you can make it without a shot being fired!" (p. 305). This book is a latter-day, scholarly version of the rag-tag circus racing to Berlin, grabbing whatever is handy for the purpose. Some of it is elegant, some of it is pedestrian, some of it is opportunistic, and some of it is uplifting. However, unlike the 1945 race for Berlin, one wonders what the rush was with this book.

>Ronald E. Ostman, Cornell University

FREE TO SPEAK HIS MIND: W.R. RONALD, PRAIRIE EDITOR AND AN AAA ARCHITECT

By Elizabeth Evenson Williams. Freeman, South Dakota: Mitchell, South Dakota, 1999. 127 pp.

Newspaper journalism has come a long way in eighty-plus years. In 1909, when W. R. Ronald bought the *Republican* in Mitchell, South Dakota, it was accepted and in fact, expected that the newspaper represented a political party's views. However, by the time Ronald died in 1951, his newspaper like most others had become more objective and therefore, more influential.

Williams takes the reader on a journey into the past in Mitchell, South Dakota, and gives us a look into how newspapers have evolved into what they are today. Many chapters give us a look into Ronald's thinking at the time and the way he became more and more progressive in his views and his editorials for the *Republican*. In fact, in his first editorial upon buying the *Republican*, he states that "...it is esteemed perhaps the most precious privilege of actual ownership to be free to speak one's mind without regard for its effect upon candidates or candidacies but only with consideration for the cause of good government in which all decent citizens of whatever party or faction, believe alike." However, even though it sounds with that editorial that Ronald would not let party politics influence his paper, he did enjoy the power that comes with ownership of a medium, particularly print. Ronald and his newspaper played a major role in the career of one South Dakota politician, Peter Norbeck, a progressive Republican. It was during a time

when the Republican Party was split in two factions, conservative and progressive. Ronald helped get Norbeck elected first as a member of the legislature, then as lieutenant governor in 1914 and as governor in 1916.

Ronald also believed in boosting the community through the *Republican*. He never let the newspaper become involved in mud slinging or local controversy, choosing instead to back community involvement projects. He was instrumental in fund raising for Dakota Wesleyan University, and the paving and lighting of city streets.

Williams documents Ronald's change of heart and political views over the course of some twenty-five years. In 1934, Ronald changed the name of his newspaper from the *Republican* to the *Republic* and finally acknowledged his change in political views moving from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party to support Franklin D. Roosevelt. At the same time though, he continued his support for Norbeck as Republican United States Senator.

Even though the story is widely known outside of South Dakota, the reader is given a glimpse of how agriculture came to be what it is today with the federal government becoming involved. Ronald was a key architect of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. In fact, during the early days of the New Deal, Ronald was the only non-farmer to participate in several farm conferences. However, the U.S. Supreme Court declared the first AAA unconstitutional in 1936, and new bills were enacted to replace it in 1936 and 1938.

In 1951 Ronald died, leaving a legacy for all South Dakotans and Americans alike. Ronald was a leader among his colleagues in the newspaper business. He broke from the tradition of supporting one political party early on, becoming more bipartisan if not more objective in his writings and coverage. He also paved the way for newspapers to become more involved in community affairs.

Williams has done an impressive job of documenting every detail of Ronald's life in the newspaper business with an extensive bibliography. As accurate as the book may be, it can be laborious to read since there is no conversation, only fact after fact after fact. However, it should be required reading for all journalists, especially print journalists.

>Cindie Jeter, Southeast Missouri State University

THE CONSERVATIVE PRESS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICA
Edited by William Henry Longton and Ronald Lora. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999. 729 pp.

Some thirty-nine contributors and two editors put together this massive volume defining some sixty-five of the major publications that carried the conservative movement's message in the twentieth century. The book catalogs the array of publications into types of religious journals, business journals, and political journals and into ten distinct sections. Each section contains an introduction defining the type of publication and the major players in the area. This all follows an eighteen-page introduction to the book by the editors who lay the historical foundation for the developments in twentieth century American conservatism. In the introduction, the editors document the conservative reaction to Social Darwinism. They follow that by dividing the conservative movement into three primary participants: libertarians, fundamentalists, and traditionalists. They give readers a particular understanding of the turn of the century split between religious institutions over Social Gospel, the liberal church's application of Social Darwinism, and the conservative church's reaction.

Contributing authors thoroughly researched publication titles, providing such logistics as dates for the run of the publication, circulation figures, and names of publishers. More importantly, however, the authors document the philosophical foundations for each publication and provide historical context that helps to explain the positions of the publications regarding major issues of public concern. Readers are given each publication's purpose and focus. The entries in this remarkable reference work demonstrate each author's expertise and understanding of political, religious, and economic thought and movement. The understanding of theologies and their application to world events is especially delightful. This reference work is a must for anyone who intends to research and write about the movement of American conservatism in the twentieth century.

>Stephen V. Bird, Lenoir-Rhyne College

RICH MEDIA, POOR DEMOCRACY: COMMUNICATIONS POLITICS IN DUBIOUS TIMES
By Robert McChesney. Urbana/Champagne, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1999. 427 pp.

Well over a century ago, two writers began to pen personal commentaries on one of the greatest transformations that human civilization has witnessed, namely the second phase of the industrial revolution. Although wary of the impact on Britain's urban working class, John Stuart Mill saw the market as a force that would, if harnessed properly, liberate human beings from the social and political bondage of the past. He argued that everyone had the right to pursue happiness and if that meant materialism, so be it. On the other hand, Karl Marx saw the rise of industrial capitalism as a new form of bondage, one that would eventually force the "slaves" to rebel and bring forth a new order based on a sense of community.

Neither quite had it right, but Marx's insight that the natural forces of capitalism would drive it in a direction characterized by larger and larger conglomerations of capital and a lessening of competition, to the point that either monopolies or oligarchies would emerge, rings true in these opening years of the twenty-first century. For the past decade, corporations have been on merger binges on a global scale, and it is precisely the impact of those mergers in the media business and their consequent ideological impact that concerns Robert McChesney. He is quick to point out the reluctance to invoke anti-trust legislation with the exception of the Microsoft case. As any one of a number of Progressive Age robber barons could attest, our forefathers did not share this kind of bashfulness.

Anyone familiar with this young and prolific scholar will not be surprised by the anti-corporate tone of the book. In fact, McChesney in many ways is a lone voice in a world nodding its automatic approval of the behavior of corporate conglomerations. Erin Brockovitch and Norma Rae do not exist in this world. Fundamentally, McChesney argues that the continued dominance of the private sector in media with its emphasis on remaining an arm of the marketing world has in effect shut out any alternative voices that may exist out there. The sole raison d'etre of contemporary media is to stuff faces with hamburgers and to dress little kids in Gap Junior clothing. Hence the title, Rich Media: Poor Democracy.

McChesney returns to a theme familiar to many journalists and certainly to journalism scholars, namely that the Fourth Estate is a critical player in democratic society. Therefore, when that institution is turned over wholesale to those organizations dedicated solely to the sale of products and services, a process he describes as advertising carpet-bombing, there is little or no incentive to go beyond basic entertainment programming for any given target market. The victims of this way of thinking become those who can-

not compete in an environment driven by the profit motive and shareholder value, and in more cases than not, this amounts to journalists.

McChesney effectively argues that commercialization of the media has also been a factor in reinforcing market values in the population at large. He debunks the myth that free market liberalism and democracy are in effect political cousins and cannot and do not live without each other. He argues convincingly that free market capitalism has nothing to do with democratic behavior. There is plenty of evidence in contemporary China, Pinochet's Chile, and apartheid South Africa to support this viewpoint. In fact, he states that in its current configuration, namely by stifling opposition voices, global capitalism is a hindrance to democratic action. He blames the wholesale and seemingly worldwide acceptance of neoliberalism for turning the political process into a sideshow where charismatic values, convincing speech making, and negative advertising have taken the place of honest and sincere discussions of policy and state formation with the consequent and tragic decline of voter involvement in federal and state elections.

Although the arguments and evidence to support them are clear in all chapters of the book, I felt that his depressing account of the decline of public broadcasting worldwide was one of the most effective sections of the work. PBS viewers would have to be sightless not to notice the creeping commercialism now present on the network's screens. It seems that pledge weeks have become longer and more frequent. Entertainment shows such as Ballroom Dancing Competitions and Frank Sinatra specials are taking the place of other prime time programs such as The American Experience, Frontline, and others, which now appear to be limited specials as opposed to regularly scheduled programming. The condition is not unique to the United States. The commercialization and privatization of public broadcasting outlets is now a worldwide phenomenon.

If there is one weakness in this otherwise articulate and convincing study, it is the almost passing discussion of the impact of one striking change in capitalist behavior coincident with the rise of global computer networks in the early 1980s, namely the impact of the world financial community. Shareholder value is no longer the payment that Bert and Ethel on their Iowa farm got by clipping dividend payments. Today's shareholder is a big, rich, and bloated mutual fund managed by an overworked, terrified account executive whose sole purpose in life is to inflate the value of his portfolio. Failure to do so will result in lower commissions and often dismissal. Thus, the value of any one enterprise is no longer determined as much by product or by service, but the price one can get for the company's shares. It is no accident of fate that in recent years, more and more corporate executives are taking part, if not the majority, of their salaries in stock options. Although we have yet to define this activity as a conflict of interest, the

impact of a President or CEO being a large stockholder should be carefully studied and evaluated.

Anyone interested in the future or lack thereof of a citizen influenced society should tremble at the impact outlined by McChesney. If he is to be believed, it will be Rupert Murdoch, Tony O'Reilly, Steven Chase, Michael Eisner, Ted Turner, Bill Gates, Sumner Redstone, and their counterparts across the world who will be determining how we eat, sleep, and work and perhaps how we should think. McChesney has sounded the warning bells. Let them ring in our colleges and universities from this time forward. The alternative prospect is most uncomfortable.

>David R. Spencer, The University of Western Ontario

THE INVENTION OF JOURNALISM

By Jean K. Chalaby. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998. London, first published by MacMillan Press Ltd., 1998. 212 pp.

Competition in the marketplace—not budding professionalism, the mere composition of the readership, or rampant technology—forced editors and reporters to make journalism a discrete discourse that was not as relevant to the public as the politically motivated press. Jean K. Chalaby supports this inference with an array of evidence drawn largely from the experiences of British newspapers but sprinkled with examples from other places, including France, Ireland, and the United States. He considers attempts to find objectivity prior to the late nineteenth century anachronistic.

Chalaby convincingly traces the history of the labor movement unstampeds, illegal newspapers that served the working classes and competed successfully with the apolitical dailies in London beginning in the 1830s. He describes these papers to demonstrate that they constituted an entity separate from the money-driven capitalist press. Newspapers could and did exist solely as organs of knowledge. Chalaby does an exceptionally sensitive job of presenting these "views" papers within their own context. However, he does not consider the possibility that these papers might have been flawed. He concludes "publicists' discursive production was largely determined by their political convictions, and the nature and intensity of these convictions matter more for the understanding of these texts than discursive norms which did not exist when publicists were writing." Without dredging up objectivity or other modern constructs, he could have recognized that, at least, some of them were not perfect and pondered what difference their shortcomings made in accomplishing their mission.

Nevertheless, he offers fresh insights into the emergence of journalism as an economic force in both Britain and the United States. Chalaby argues that pre-journalistic forms provided the public with propaganda in its pure sense of knowledge. Journalism actually corrupted the notion of mass communication into a means of pursuing financial gain. He demonstrates that the very standards of objectivity: neutrality, impartiality, balance, and fairness, as well as truthfulness, factuality, accuracy, and completeness do not guarantee independence from politicians or protect news from economic demands that, he contends, overwhelm the entire process.

Indeed, in one highly original chapter, Chalaby analyzes how pressures to survive in the marketplace precipitated journalistic discursive strategies (crusades, jingoism, and sensationalism). Crusades for reform, to reinforce standing in the empire, or to amuse readers raised circulation. Often, the exposés of shocking conditions in the name of social betterment in fact, provided juicy, dramatic copy for several days. "Most of these crusades tackled important problems too superficially to pretend to have any motives but to stir emotions among the audience," Chalaby explains. Jingoism distorted facts and severed the readers' connection with reality to build within them a false perspective ruled by platitudes rather than logic and, therein, devoid of the truth. Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst also pitched jingoism over veracity. They resorted to grotesque sensationalism during the Spanish American War to wage their own private battle for circulation.

Chalaby weaves evidence from newspapers into his chapters powerfully. The only weakness in his writing is a tendency to invoke stuffy forms of words (interdisciplinarity, structuration, commodification) when the simpler term would have increased clarity as well as readability.

Chalaby completed his Ph.D. in 1994 at the London School of Economics and has published many articles on comparative journalism in leading European journals. I recommend his study of journalism as a discourse, a language in and of itself, to American scholars of media history. The book's one downfall is the implied assumption that informing the public splits in half: the good (the publicists who serve the political press, which runs lofty articles to serve a public thirsty for trenchant analysis of current events) and the bad (journalists who toady to the capitalist press, which makes all editorial and reportorial decisions based on selling to the jaded masses). Nevertheless, his analysis of the press in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries contains a wealth of lively examples and some very provocative conclusions.

>Paulette D. Kilmer,University of Toledo

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Book Reviews

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Definition of History:

For purposes of written research papers and publications, the term history shall be seen as a continuous and connected process emphasizing but not necessarily confined to subjects of American mass communications. It should be viewed NOT in the context of perception of the current decade, but as part of a unique, significant, and time-conditioned human past. Papers will be evaluated in terms of the author's systematic, critical, qualitative, and quantitative investigation of all relevant, available sources with a focus on written, primary documents but not excluding current literature and interviews. The narrative element (with a logical beginning, ending, and thematic unity) should be the core of written historical submissions offered to create meaning in our lives.

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Historical analysis requires enough distance from the historical events to allow analysis with context. Because properly placing a historical event in context usually requires those events to be completed, distance from the event should be considered in determining the quality of a historical account.

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Editor's Note

by Karla K. Gower, Editor

The past is all about legends and myths. This issue contains articles that challenge our beliefs about the past, both at home and abroad. It also contains articles about the stuff of myths—heroes.

Ulf Jonas Bjork gives context to the *New York Sun*'s moon hoax, refuting previous theories about why the *Sun* published the series, in "'Sweet is the Tale': A Context for the *New York Sun*'s Moon Hoax." Similarly, Ross Collins, in "'Cossacks Marching to Berlin!': A New Look at French Journalism during the First World War," challenges the commonly held belief that French journalists routinely exaggerated and lied during the war.

While Bjork and Collins challenge existing beliefs, Robin Hardin describes how one sports reporter was able to create a legend, that of golfer Bobby Jones. "Creating Myth and Legend: O.B. Keelor and Bobby Jones" discusses the relationship between Keelor and Jones and how Keelor's writings helped create the myth of Jones as hero. Matthew Bosisio, on the other hand, examines the life of a real hero, in "Hazel Brannon Smith: Pursuing Truth at Her Peril." Smith's believe in the power of truth and her dedication to pursuing that truth without regard to her personal safety serves as an inspiration to us all.

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"Sweet is the Tale": A Context for the *New York Sun*'s Moon Hoax

by Ulf Jonas Bjork

The moon hoax that the New York Sun *published in 1835 has long been part of American journalism history, but it has most often been discussed without much context. The purpose of this article is to discuss why the* Sun *published the hoax and what that decision reveals about the early penny press in general and the* New York Sun *in particular. It is evident from contemporary press comments, for instance, that doubts about the moon stories' authenticity surfaced early on, casting doubts on the traditional claim that the hoax fooled editors and readers alike. Newspapers still published the stories, however, and this study contends that they did so because the series was regarded as literary entertainment. Thus, the publication of the moon hoax suggests that the* Sun *was not primarily a vehicle for news in its early years, but a publication whose primary purpose was to entertain.*

"Sweet is the tale, howe'er uncouth its shape
That makes the world's wide mouth in wonder gape."
Baltimore Chronicle, quoted in the *New York Sun*,
4 September 1835, 2.

On 19 September 1835, the editor of the *Weekly Messenger* in Vevay, Indiana, announced to his readers that the next issue would contain "accounts of discoveries in the Moon." He thought it wise, however, to preface their publication with a caveat: "Although it appears in an imposing form, it is generally considered a hoax. If

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a hoax, it is ingeniously written, and will, in all events, serve to amuse our readers for a moment."[1]

The accounts that the *Messenger* was about to offer its readership were the famous moon-hoax stories of the *New York Sun*, which claimed that an astronomer using a powerful telescope located in South Africa had discovered not only plants and animals on the lunar surface, but also creatures very much like humans—except that they were equipped with bat-like wings and could fly. The hoax has long been part of American journalism history, but it has often been discussed without much context. Looking at contemporary comments such as that of the *Messenger* and at early accounts of the hoax, this study discusses why the *Sun* published the hoax and what that decision reveals about the early penny press in general and the *New York Sun* in particular. To begin with, it is necessary to provide a synopsis of the circumstances surrounding the publication of the hoax and the response to it.

History of a Hoax

The first sign of what was to come was a brief six-line announcement in the *Sun* on 21 August, a Friday. It noted that a Scottish newspaper had learned that John Herschel, a real-life astronomer, had made "some astronomical discoveries of the most wonderful description."[2] After that, the penny paper fell silent on the matter until the following Tuesday, when the first installment appeared, introduced as a reprint of an article from a British scientific journal. Four more followed before the series concluded, on 31 August. By then, readers had been treated to a detailed and seemingly scientific description of the moon's vegetation, animal life, bodies of water, human-like inhabitants, and building structures.

The traditional story of the *Sun's* moon series encompasses not only the actual articles, however, but also the enormous success those articles enjoyed as a hoax, first in New York City, then elsewhere in the United States, and finally in Europe. William Griggs, one of the earliest chroniclers of the hoax, claimed that New Yorkers clamored for copies of the *Sun*, whose publisher found that he could not print enough to keep up with the demand. Griggs then proceeded to describe how the articles fooled Americans beyond the *Sun's* hometown as well as readers overseas.[3] His account can be at least partly supported by the *Sun's* editorial comments during the publication of the series. These indicate that there was indeed a great deal of public interest in the series. The paper brought out a pamphlet containing all the stories within five days of the first installment's publication and even sold a lithographic print, supposedly based on illustrations in the original Scottish article.[4]

Skepticism in New York—and Elsewhere

Doubts about the series' authenticity surfaced almost immediately. On 28 August, when two installments remained to be published, the *New York Evening Star* proclaimed the series a hoax, arguing that "[r]eason, common sense and a moment's reflection upon the impossibility of such discoveries, must convince the most skeptical."[5] The following day, the *Evening Post*, the *Commercial Advertiser,* and the *Journal of Commerce* joined the *Star*. The *Post* referred to the *Sun's* articles as an "ingenious hoax." The *Journal* labeled them "a most extraordinary hoax," belonging "to the same school as Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver's Travels." The *Advertiser*, for its part, could "hardly understand how any man of common sense should read it without at once perceiving the deception."[6]

On August 31, one of the *Sun's* penny-press rivals, the *Herald*, joined the ranks of the denouncers. *Herald* publisher James Gordon Bennett pronounced the moon stories a "very ingenious astronomical hoax" and an "astronomical dream." He also claimed that the author of the series was *Sun* editor Richard Adams Locke.[7] Even the *Sun* itself noted, as it offered readers the final installment that day, that the "opinion of the public press seems to be pretty equally divided" as to the moon stories' authenticity.[8]

The *Herald* continued to refer to the stories as a hoax for the next seven days. As papers outside New York City took note of the articles, they, too, were inclined to take that view. In Albany, the *Daily Argus* characterized the series as "bold satire" when it first brought it up on 31 August. By the end of the week, the *Argus* was joined in its doubts by out-of-state publications such as the *United States Telegraph* in Washington, *Niles' Weekly Register* in Baltimore, *Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post* in Philadelphia, and the *New England Galaxy* in Boston.[9]

As the news of the moon series traveled west and south in the following weeks, newspaper editors there tended to label the discoveries a fabrication, as the introduction of this study shows. In Indiana, the Vevay *Weekly Messenger* was joined in its doubts by papers in Madison, Vincennes, Richmond, and Indianapolis, and when news of the *Sun's* series reached St. Louis and Chicago in the latter half of September, papers there introduced it to readers as an outright hoax. Papers in Maryland, South Carolina, and Alabama, receiving word of the moon stories in mid-September, treated them the same way. [10]

Some editors outside New York City were deceived, however. In Philadelphia, the publisher of the weekly paper *Bicknell's Reporter, Counterfeit Detector and Prices Current* apparently received news of the *Sun's* articles only a day or two after the first installment. Relying on the judgment of "our most intelligent contemporaries" who considered "the whole affair a

genuine document," he was inclined to see it the same way as he published the first article on 1 September. In the next issue, a week later, he discreetly noted to readers that "[i]t is the general opinion, in this quarter, that the whole affair is a hoax."[11] In Cincinnati, the *Republican* secured copies not of the New York papers commenting on the moon stories, but of the *Sun* itself and published the series on 4 September with the comment that it revealed "one of the most important celestial discoveries, that science can boast of. " Although the *Cincinnati Advertiser* initially seemed to agree with the *Republican's* assessment, it decided four days later that the description of "men bats, biped beavers, mountains of diamonds, emeralds and gold, structures of polished sapphire 100 feet high and other things far outstripping the wonders of the Arabian Night's Entertainment" had left "public confidence . . . greatly shaken." A week after the *Republican's* announcement, the weekly *Mirror and Chronicle* noted that it was generally agreed in Cincinnati that the whole thing was a hoax.[12]

Abroad, reaction was skeptical. Even the *Sun* had to admit when it received the first English papers commenting on the series that "more than half the inhabitants on the other side of the water seem to doubt whether any such discoveries have actually been made" and that "many of the English papers reiterate the cry of hoax." Looking back at the hoax in 1876, the London magazine *Belgravia* thought that it had enjoyed its "only real" success in America; in England, no newspaper editors "gave countenance to it at all."[13]

The Sun Refuses to Own Up

Before moving on to discuss what value newspaper editors saw in publishing a series of fabricated articles, it should be noted that the *Sun* was loath to admit that the moon stories were made up. The day after the series concluded, the penny paper printed an editorial with excerpts from papers that considered the series genuine, praising them for being "sensible, candid and scientific." The *Sun* did acknowledge that some members of the press were "sceptical [sic]." It noted that the *Journal of Commerce* claimed, "illnaturedly," that the stories were made up, but that was due to "[c]onsummate ignorance," according to the *Sun*. The penny paper insisted that the original Scottish journal article existed and was the source of the series. To cast further doubts on the credibility of the *Journal,* the *Sun* claimed a few days later that the sixpenny itself was guilty of a hoax, as it had recently published a poem falsely attributed to Lord Byron.[14]

In mid-September, in a lengthy and supposedly "long expected" comment on the moon series, the *Sun* still insisted that it had obtained the original information from Britain. Consequently, if there were doubts about

its authenticity, the blame lay not with the *Sun*, but overseas. The paper reiterated that argument in early November, when it expressed surprise that no English paper had looked at the Scottish journal article first hand. Only in mid-December, when the *Sun* claimed to have encountered one of the lunar man-bats on the streets of New York and engaged him as a correspondent, did the paper seem to wink at its readers and admit the fabrication.[15]

Historiography of a Hoax

The fanciful content of the moon stories and the question of how many people were fooled have worked in concert to make the hoax a good anecdote, and, as such, it has been recounted numerous times since 1835. General histories of American journalism have devoted at least a paragraph or two to the moon stories ever since Frederic Hudson's pioneering work in the 1870s. Hudson not only made the *Sun's* hoax an accepted part of the narrative of U.S. press history, he also set the tone for treating it as an episode whose relationship to journalism was unclear.[16]

Hudson's book called the hoax "a spurt in intellectual enterprise" that was "the only really brilliant thing" produced in the *Sun's* early years. Its most important outcome was, the pioneer historian thought, that it gave the penny paper "its real start in life."[17] Echoing that assertion nearly a half-century later, George Henry Payne noted that the hoax brought the *Sun* "international fame."[18] Later historians focused on the fabrication itself: Frank Luther Mott thought the stories noteworthy as "the greatest 'fake' of our journalistic history," and Edwin and Michael Emery mentioned them as "a journalistic trick."[19] Given the tradition of presenting the moon hoax as an event somehow disconnected from the historical narrative at large, it is perhaps fitting that Hiley Ward's account, one of the most recent, confined itself to recounting the hoax itself and relating some of the responses its publication elicited.[20]

The Hoax Explained as a Business Tactic

Attempts to explain what motive the *Sun* had for publishing the stories—other than fooling the public—have not been altogether lacking. The majority of these explanations see the moon hoax as a business strategy. While Willard Bleyer noted that the *Sun's* stories happened to drive up circulation, others have assumed that they were intended to do so. Alfred McClung Lee regarded the hoax as a planned attempt to promote newspaper sales, part of a general trend evident in U.S. newspapers after 1830. Fred Fedler asserted that *Sun* publisher Benjamin Day had the series printed

because he "expected it to increase circulation."[21] Robert Rutland viewed the hoax in a similar if more cynical light, portraying it as a plan by a newspaper publisher who "had a product to sell" and "had no compunction about telling an occasional lie, if that was all that was needed to turn a profit."[22]

There is indeed some evidence suggesting that Day hoped the series would bring up the *Sun's* circulation. According to Griggs, "a very large extra edition had been prepared, in anticipation of an unusual demand."[23] On the other hand, an examination of the newspaper's columns does not show much evidence of advance promotion. The *Sun's* 21 August announcement, appearing on a Friday, merely noted that Herschel had made discoveries of "the most wonderful description."[24] Moreover, the subsequent two issues (on Saturday and Monday, as the *Sun* had no Sunday edition in 1835) made no mention of the series, a silence that is puzzling if Day's intent was to boost interest.

Promotion began in earnest only with the first installment, which was accompanied by an editorial note promising that the articles would "excite more ardent curiosity . . . than could be created and supplied by any thing short of a direct revelation from heaven."[25] The publicity increased in intensity the following day, when the *Sun* labeled the revelations of its series the "greatest wonders of the day." They could not "fail to be read with continually increasing interest" and would offer "a rich feast of information."[26] Long *after* the publication of the stories, the *Sun* exploited the attention it had attracted: in mid-November, it introduced a series of articles about a convicted murderer by telling readers they had been "written by Mr. R.A. Locke, whom our contemporaries accuse of being the author of the celebrated 'Astronomical Discoveries.'"[27]

On balance, the *Sun's* publication of the moon stories can at least in part be explained as a business calculation. The paper's files show that the paper made certain that it profited from the popularity of the moon stories once publisher Day realized what a success he had on his hands. It is less clear whether Benjamin Day really had expected and planned for that success.

The Hoax and the Race for News

If the *Sun* is viewed as nothing more than a profit-driven media enterprise, the circulation-booster argument provides a great deal of context for the hoax. If, on the other hand, the appearance of the *Sun* represented a significant step toward news-oriented and objective journalism, as suggested by Michael Schudson and Dan Schiller, the penny newspaper's decision to publish the moon series remains puzzling. Schudson's discussion avoided

the issue by ignoring the hoax, but Schiller dealt with it at length, advancing two theories that connect the series to the *Sun's* role as a vehicle of news.[28]

According to Schiller's first explanation, the stories were an elaborate scheme to embarrass the established mercantile newspapers. Schiller maintained that the "sixpennies" frequently clipped material from penny papers without giving them credit, and that practice was particularly galling to the newcomers because their older rivals still regarded penny papers as less than valid journalistic enterprises. Consequently, by tricking the commercial sheets into reprinting a fabricated story, the *Sun* dealt a blow to their credibility as news organs.[29]

Intriguing as this explanation is, it appears to be based solely on a passage in a work by Isaac Pray, an early biographer of James Gordon Bennett, which consists of a description of joy among the *Sun's* staff when an unnamed "sixpenny" claimed to have obtained its own copy of the Scottish scientific journal. Pray does not suggest, however, that the penny paper had planned for matters to turn out that way.[30]

Moreover, other sources, particularly the *Sun's* own columns, tend to contradict Schiller's theory. As has already been discussed, the penny paper maintained for months that the discoveries were authentic, an odd position to take if the stories' intent was to ridicule the sixpennies for publishing fabricated material. As to the plan to catch rival newspapers in the act of "stealing" editorial matter without giving the *Sun* credit, it produced mixed results at best: several sixpenny papers, including the *Journal of Commerce* and the *Evening Post*, named the *Sun* as the articles' source, while the *Courier and Enquirer* ignored the series altogether.[31]

The Hoax and Objectivity

The second of Schiller's explanations is that the moon stories are significant because they were an early sign of journalistic objectivity. The use of scientific details and the claim that the original source was a respected foreign journal gave the stories a "garb" that foreshadowed the subsequent stress on fact and detachment in journalistic writing.[32]

The main problem with this argument is that it does not sufficiently consider the moon stories in their contemporary context. The scientific "garb" signaling dawning journalistic objectivity was not a sudden innovation by Locke in the summer of 1835. Instead, judging from one of the earliest discussions of the hoax, a magazine article written by Edgar Allan Poe in 1846, such writing seems to have been a fairly established literary device at the time.[33]

Poe noted in his article that he had begun publishing a serialized story that also dealt with life on the moon shortly before the *Sun's* series appeared,

a venture he gave up once Locke's success was evident. Calling both his own and the *Sun's* story "hoaxes," Poe suggested that they belonged to a fiction genre whose object was to be so close to reality "as really to deceive." Although Poe's story, "The Unparalleled Adventures of One Hans Pfaall" was eventually written in a "half plausible, half bantering" way, he had initially wanted to give it a "very close verisimilitude." Poe thought that Locke's story had a number of problems that diminished its credibility, but he nevertheless seemed to think that its author had achieved the objective of the genre.[34]

The Hoax as Literature

Responses to the moon series at the time of its publication lend further credence to the idea that it was a literary effort, as Poe's discussion implied. Unsure whether he believed the account as it unfolded in August 1835, New York diarist Philip Hone wrote that, "if it is a fable, the manner of its relation, with all its scientific details, names of persons employed, and the beauty of its glowing descriptions, will give this ingenious history a place with 'Gulliver's Travels' and 'Robinson Crusoe.'"[35]

Comments by journalists echoed that assessment. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* thought the series "is written with consummate ability and generates intense interest," and *Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post* declared that "the author, whoever he may be, deserves great credit for his skill and ingenuity."[36] The *New York Commercial Advertiser* deemed the account "well done" and "a pleasant piece of reading."[37] The weekly *New-York Mirror* gave the writer "praise due to a fertile imagination, and to great powers of description," and the *Cincinnati Advertiser* compared the *Sun's* articles to Gulliver's Travels, the Adventures of Baron Munchausen and Sinbad the Sailor, declaring that "the author, whoever he may be, must be ranked with men of genius, and his production considered equal if not superior to his predecessors in the invention and detail of wonders." The *Oneida Whig* thought the series a "great treat," and the *Southern Advocate* in Huntsville, Alabama, claimed it was written with "great spirit, beauty and fancy."[38] Even Bennett's *Herald* lauded Locke for "his ingenuity—his learning—his irresistible drollery."[39] One of the few criticisms of the account itself objected to the use of real-life persons to achieve authenticity: the *Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot* thought it questionable to "make so free of the names of distinguished scientific men."[40]

This focus on form and style in responses to the moon stories suggests that they were never regarded as regular news. Their page-one placement in the *Sun* bolster that impression, because that section of the paper had been, ever since the first issue, devoted to editorial matter that crossed back and forth between reality and fantasy. A review of *Sun* front pages between 1833 and 1835 shows that, on some days, readers would find pure fiction there; on others, they were offered purportedly factual accounts of events where the location was unclear and the date of occurrence even more so.

Even events with a clearly factual basis were given a literary character when appearing on the first page. In April 1835, for instance, the *Sun* published an account of the murder trial of Matthias the Prophet, a religious fanatic in White Plains, New York. When the paper announced two and a half weeks later that it would publish Matthias' memoirs, they were touted, in language foreshadowing that promoting the moon stories, as "wholly unparalleled in the annals of our history" and destined to be "recorded as a wonder and a marvel of the present age, almost too monstrous to obtain the credence of a future one."[41]

The moon stories' success in hovering between fact and fantasy was further aided by the status of science in 1835, a time when what was true in the scientific realm was just as amazing as what was fabricated. Six months before the moon hoax, for instance, the *Sun's* readers had been treated to a front-page wood-cut that showed minute organisms in a drop of water as seen through a microscope; to New Yorkers, that view may well have seemed as incredible as the lithograph that later the same year afforded them a view of the lunar man-bats.[42]

Fitting the moon stories into the times in which they appeared, "the era of the circus and the museum," Sydney Kobre noted that the *Sun* sought to appeal to readers' thirst for "the unusual, the bizarre, the variation from the normal in animal and human life."[43] That point was also made right after the stories appeared, by the editor of *Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post*:

> In this age of invention and discovery, learned fleas and Sea Serpents, the appetite for the wonderful becomes vitiated, and ordinary occurrences are not relished. The mind and the imagination are continually on the strain for something out of the ordinary line, and an extravaganza of man-bats in the moon, is just as well calculated to satisfy and relieve this anxiety as anything else.[44]

The Rules for Hoaxes

The form and placement of the moon story acted in concert with the nature of the topic to make the series attractive reading; several comments indicate that the matter of authenticity was of less importance. The *Evening Post*, for instance, presented the series to its readers "as one from which they will derive much entertainment whether they wholly believe it or not." The *Philadelphia National Gazette* published it because,"[b]e this glorious discovery a hoax or not, it will at all events serve to amuse for the moment."[45]

Others welcomed the stories, authentic or not, as a welcome diversion from real, verifiable news events. "It is so pleasant to have our attention called off from the mobs and riots, murders and hangings of earth," reflected the *Hampshire Gazette*. The *Sun* itself claimed that "[m]ost of those who incredulously regard the whole narrative as a hoax" still praised "its useful effect in diverting the public mind, for a while, from that bitter apple of discord, the abolition of slavery."[46] In almost no instance was Day's newspaper criticized for publishing the series. If the stories were fabrications, wrote the *Albany Evening Journal*, "our readers will at least have had the pleasure of being adroitly and delightfully HOAXED."[47]

However, there was swift criticism when the *Sun* overstepped the apparent bounds for this type of newspaper material by steadfastly insisting that the account was true. The *Journal of Commerce* found it "objectionable" to "fortify the deception by editorial remarks amounting to positive assertion." The *New-York Mirror* condemned "the matchless impudence of those who persist in the genuineness and authenticity of the narrative." The *Sun's* most adamant critic, Bennett's *Herald*, returned to this issue twice, calling it "monstrous mendacity" one day and "impudent swindling" the next.[48]

In conclusion, this study offers the theory that the *Sun* published the moon hoax in the tradition of a specific type of content. It was literary in form, its relationship to the truth was ambiguous, and both of those qualities were communicated to readers through the placement of the stories on page one. That this type of material was prominent in the *Sun's* columns should be taken into account to a greater degree, because there is a tendency, particularly in Schiller's and Schudson's discussions, to regard early penny papers as full-fledged news organs that were concerned solely with relaying information.[49] While that characterization may apply fairly well to the *Herald*, whose publisher had a background as a writer for mercantile papers, it does not fit the *Sun*, whose purpose seemed far less clear at the time of the moon hoax.

Some of that lack of clarity was the result of the pioneer status of Day's paper. As a recent biography of James Gordon Bennett points out, the idea

of an inexpensive paper with a large readership came from a British publication, the *Penny Magazine*. Its content, however, was not news-oriented, so it was left to the *Sun* and its early competitor the *Daily Transcript* to adapt the general idea of a mass-readership publication to daily newspaper publishing. In the *Sun's* case, one study concluded, the result was a publication whose "primary purpose was to entertain."[50]

As the penny press matured in the following decades, news took on far greater importance, and hoaxes were no longer acceptable. When the *New York Herald* published a fabricated account detailing the escape of wild animals from the Central Park Zoo in 1874, it found itself roundly condemned by other newspapers. The *New York Tribune* denounced the made-up story as an example of "puerile inventions." The *New York Times* thought it violated "journalistic propriety and a due respect for the public."[51] Thirty-nine years after the moon hoax, there was no longer room in newspapers for stories that, in Edgar Allan Poe's words, tried to achieve a "very close verisimilitude" in an effort to entertain readers.

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"Cossacks Marching to Berlin!": A New Look at French Journalism during the First World War

by Ross F. Collins

Historians of wartime journalism have long assumed that World War I French newspapers indulged in a variety of lies and exaggerations translated generally as "eyewash." Clearly, eyewash was widespread in the Paris press, based on extensive reseasrch. But an assumption that similar material extended throughout the country has been based on little historical research assessing day-to-day provincial coverage. The author extends this area of research beyond Paris to comprehensively evaluate two wartime provincial newspapers, based on five categories of eyewash-related material.

In examining complete editions of two important provincial daily newspapers from the south, the author found that some categories of eyewash were indeed not present, or barely present, and urges historians to re-assess assumptions in light of this new evidence.

The First World War casts a long shadow across the last century. Most of what is studied—and perhaps experienced—during that late ten decades of cruel times can be traced directly back to events of 1914-18: the Great Depression, the Second World War, the Holocaust, the Red Scare, the Space Race, the Cold War, the Berlin Wall. The practice of journalism, too, was wracked by the pressures of a conflict consuming the society it reflected. Historians occupied with North American journalism, however, might not be as aware of these journalistic convulsions—journalism here did not undergo the extent of economic and political shock common to European newspaper operations. In fact, of all

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the belligerent nations, French newspaper offices took the greatest hit from censors, creditors, and the grim reaper. The mobilization of August 1914 ripped through offices of a press at its pinnacle of power and influence, the "golden age" of French journalism. Titles fell like cordwood—thirty dailies put out of business in Paris alone.[1] The harshest censorship of all the fighting nations left surviving news pages resembling sometimes a patch quilt of crude blank blocks.[2]

What news was left in those newspapers is remembered as seldom-varied pabulum of a most ridiculous mixture. "How disillusioning!" wrote one press historian. "All seemed cast from the same mold: same commentaries, same headlines, same layouts."[3] A definitive account of wartime French journalism noted,

> reading a newspaper of the time left a curious impression of misunderstanding: their conformism, their optimism, hardly influenced by reality, their naiveté, their way of writing about life at the front was in such contrast to the realities of the war.[4]

After the war, the French magazine *Le Crapouillot* gathered up the most memorable of this material into a publication nicknamed *bourrage-de-crâne*, generally translated as "eyewash."[5] This collection of fatuous lies and bloated exaggerations has been generally believed by historians, as well as the French public, to have defined the country's press during World War I. Major reference works have contended that *bourrage-de-crâne* defined most major newspapers, and lasted throughout the war.[6]

That this assumption might warrant closer examination can be detected by reading closely the *Crapouillot* collection: not one newspaper represented was published outside of Paris. Does Paris journalism write the last word for a country of 55 million? Does New York City for the United States? Certainly that comparison is flawed, as Paris, more than New York, has traditionally dominated its country politically and socially. All the more reason to go beyond the French capital to examine other large and influential newspapers during this period before assuming the entire assemblage of the French press during World War I wrote in praise of folly.

While Paris press content is well known, provincial newspapers during this period remain little studied. An unpublished examination of *Le Midi socialiste* (Toulouse daily) between 1908 and 1920 seemed to have shown war content similar to that of Paris,[7] but no published material in French or English comprehensively examines important provincial dailies for this material. This research proposes to help fill that void, by carefully re-examining the common assumption that provincial French newspapers mostly copied Paris as purveyors of eyewash. Was it really the same all over?

The examination seems worthwhile. Historical generalization concerning French newspaper content during World War I generally has not been examined based on primary evidence of provincial journalism. Yet significantly, what is thought of French press content influences the understanding of the nature of World War I censorship and propaganda.[8]

This study is based on a new and comprehensive examination of the entire wartime run of two large provincial dailies far from Paris. Chosen for analysis were *Le Petit Provençal* of Marseilles, and *Le Petit Méridional* of Montpellier. They represented the largest-scale concentration of media power on the political left in a region geographically far from Paris influence, and also far from the immediate peril of the nearby western front; they serviced an economically important, densely-populated part of the country. The region itself voted strongly to the socialist left (*Le Midi rouge*, its nickname). It was also traditionally hostile to Paris authority, though for reasons of culture, not politics. Yet the area had been thoroughly French since the turn of the thirteenth century. These papers were chosen for examination because it was suspected that the singular character of the region, its spirit of independence from the metropole, and its strong anti-militaristic trade union activity[9] would produce a large-circulation press more likely to seek out truth in a "bourgeois war," and less likely to indulge in eyewash during the pivotal first months of World War I. Moreover, these papers were chosen because they did not represent tiny-circulation opinion-press (*journaux d'opinion*), the old-style political newspapers published for a politician or political group. These had lost most influence by 1914, while the powerful mass-circulation press formed the main source of information for civilians and even soldiers themselves during the war.[10]

For the purposes of this study, "eyewash" was identified and categorized based on a set of five eyewash categories. In establishing the categories, older categories established by other historians in light of what historians today consider to be eyewash were first evaluated.[11] The older categorizing seemed to inadequately delineate clear differences in content. The expanded new categories seem to more accurately reflect these significant differences, as described below.

The term "eyewash," the English translation of the idiomatic *bourrage-de-crâne*, is used throughout because it is the most generally agreed-upon term covering this published material, nearly universally employed by English-writing historians of this era. It specifies newspaper content, and not government propaganda, and so seems most accurate in context of this material.

Eyewash categories

Publications chosen for analysis represent important newspapers of two large and influential cities in an area known for its generally "left-leaning" politics favoring socialism.[12] *Le Petit Provençal,* one of five dailies in what was then France's second-largest city and most important port, stood for socialism (ministerial, however, not revolutionary) most faithfully of the mainline mass-circulation press there. With a circulation of about 100,000, it was important reading for the working class, and maybe even some bourgeois, throughout the entire Midi littoral, up to Montpellier.[13] *Le Petit Méridional* of Montpellier, while not as strongly leftist as its Marseilles counterpart, was nevertheless the most left-leaning of mass-circulation dailies in that city. With a circulation of about 70,000, it dominated Bas-Languedoc to the Spanish border. Together these papers influenced most of the southern coastal areas, a region of strong independent feelings and weakly penetrated by Paris dailies in a country generally dominated by its capital.[14] During 1914, both papers reduced their daily run from six pages to four, and then no more than two, as mobilization drained offices of staff and advertising income.

While the entire 1914-18 run of these papers was analyzed, only the first few months of war are examined in this article, as they relate most closely to eyewash commonly examined in Paris publications. This is the most pervasive and most studied eyewash era, the months most criticized for journalistic inaccuracies, inadequacies, and imbecilities. Five eyewash categories were established:

- Odes to patriotism, a glorious and just war, a purification of the spirit. This was inspired by pre-war writing of young conservatives, led by Charles Maurras and Maurice Barrés, through the group *L'Action française.*[15]

- Foolishly heroic treatment of French troops. Brave *poilus* (doughboys) fearing neither bullet nor shell, easy victories over a cowardly enemy, the pleasant life of the trenches. This material was the kind of writing soldiers disliked most, as it appeared to underrate the difficulty of the *poilu* challenge.[16]

- Calumnies on Germany. Stories of base German character and barbaric culture, including atrocity stories.

- Outrageous lies. These would include assertions such as "Cossacks Marching to Berlin"; "Kaiser dying"; "French troops routing Germans"; etc. Such fanciful accounts were made often in the form of headlines.

• Missing information. Eyewash also can take the form of what is not reported: the truth, particularly a negative truth, published in a timely fashion. French censorship, most severe and pervasive of all belligerents during the First World War,[17] clearly influenced content, and historians have maintained that it operated on the press by keeping readers ignorant of important battles until the news leaked out days or even weeks later.[18]

Eyewash: general content

A chronological thematic analysis of *Le Petit Provençal* and *Le Petit Méridional* indicates that these categories of eyewash were not all present throughout fall 1914, and that some were not present at all. Most distinctly absent was the category covering odes to patriotism; neither suggested war was a good thing, that young soldiers should happily join the troop trains, that war purifies the culture or the soul. The conflict was treated as a tragedy, and the most positive encouragement these newspapers could offer centered on a framework of duty and resolve. This treatment seemed to suggest the politically leftist underpinnings of the two newspapers, and that they were not willing to join the point of "purification" spirit of the conservative press, even under the inspiration of *union sacrée* (sacred union), the government's call to a spirit of unity against a foreign invader. Bouyoux's analysis of the Toulouse press during the war agreed with this, noting the conservative, Catholic press was most enthusiastic about the war.[19]

The foolish heroic treatment of troops, common in the Paris press for at least the first months of war, is totally absent from *Le Petit Méridional*, and nearly so in *Le Petit Provençal.* If it is part of the latter, it is published only during the first weeks, and then only in editorials, or columns borrowed from other newspapers. It never became part of regular news columns. Editorial-writer Camille Ferdy wrote of "Prodigious feats of heroism accomplished by these little soldiers who cling indefatigably to the head of the 'kolossale' army of the kaiser. . . ." And later, "They die without fear and without weakness, in the pure serenity of sacrifice gladly given,"[20] and the paper reprinted on rare occasions the commentaries of General Cherfils from the conservative *L'Echo de Paris*, notorious for his eyewash (4 October).[21] This did not continue much beyond the first weeks of the war, however, and it was limited, with a few exceptions, to Ferdy's columns.

Calumnies on Germany present a different case. Both newspapers continued to repeat atrocity stories through the first year of war, comparing Germany's invasion to the brutality of Attila the Hun,[22] using names like "barbarians, vandals," describing "women disemboweled, children mutilated, old men burned, villages torched,"[23] and adding a litany of German "cruelties."[24] Despite these articles, *Le Petit Provençal* a month into the war pub-

lished a plea from the German socialist newspaper *Vorwaerts.*[25] While *Vorwaerts* admitted isolated instances of brutality may have taken place, the report said, "one must recognize exaggeration, either voluntary or involuntary." This reflection of a German viewpoint in a French newspaper conflicts significantly with historical assumptions of the French press during this period. Both of these newspapers, however, actually allowed the enemy's point of view to be published from time to time throughout the war. *Le Petit Méridional,* usually more restrained in its hyperbole than its Marseilles counterpart, with few exceptions described German "brutalities" less viciously than did *Le Petit Provençal.* In an example more than five months after the war began, a Montpellier prisoner of war in Germany was reportedly insulted and not properly fed—a modest complaint in contrast to the eyewash drumbeat of purported German cruelty.[26]

The eyewash of outrageous lies is the presence of extreme exaggeration to bald-faced baloney. During the first weeks, neither of these newspapers was free of this kind of eyewash. *Le Petit Méridional* printed in banner headline, "At the front our troops are moving forward," and "The enemy flees in a rout."[27] *Le Petit Provençal* exaggerated more: "The situation of the Belgian army is still very good"; "The situation of our armies is excellent."[28] A variation of a well-known headline from *Le Matin* of Paris found favor in *Le Petit Provençal* in late August: "The Russians are marching on Berlin."[29] The article underneath this title explained, "The plan of the Russian generals is to march straight to Berlin." No doubt a plan of all the allied generals!

Why did these papers exaggerate so optimistically during this period? Perhaps because they had nothing else to report, as one editor admitted after the war.[30] Readers during these first few weeks were understandably impatient for news of the war, even to the point of besieging newspaper offices. Editors had none, but still were required to sell 100,000 or more issues a day. French generals began the war highly suspicious of the press and determined to restrict any news of military nature. In August 1914, French General Joffre defined nearly all information as news of a military nature and, therefore, subject to restriction. Newspapers were denied access to the front, were for several weeks not offered a single communiqué from military headquarters, and had to rely on sketchy information from equally frustrated foreign journalists.[31]

However, on the eve of war, these newspapers showed little optimism or enthusiasm for the impending conflict. Historians Jean-Jacques Becker and Pierre Bouyoux found this to be true in reference to other French newspapers of the political left, unlike the right-leaning press, which generally welcomed the conflict.[32] In Marseilles, *Le Petit Provençal* noted that under a gray sky and cold wind "one no longer makes jokes; a resolute gravity can be read on faces."[33] A front-page editorial signed by commentator André Lefèvre reflected optimism in favor of peace, because "A European conflagration

will be such a catastrophe that as long as talks continue there exists a chance to avoid it." Commentator Louis Martin called the prospect "An abominable nightmare." An editorial in *Le Petit Méridional* signed "P.M." suggested that while there was still hope for peace, readers must guard against "excessive optimism."[34] Although both newspapers advised calm, *Le Petit Méridional* seemed particularly concerned about the state of morale, suggesting "all the press is unanimous in praising good sense and a calm population, and in recommending the greatest *sang-froid*."[35]

Neither newspaper suggested its readers should, or did, refuse the call to arms by the mobilization on 2 August 1914. As France was thought to be pacific, a union against a belligerent foreign power was accepted: "With the most absolute calm, a complete union has been made between all citizens. . . . It is not France which will carry, facing impartial history, the responsibility for this fearsome conflagration. . . ." (signed "Le Petit Méridional").[36] Camille Ferdy, former political editor of *Le Petit Provençal,* and editor-in-chief by 1914, observed, "Since the beginning of this crisis, we have never failed to show this country making a truce between all that divided it."[37]

Both newspapers had indicated that teutonic peoples were militaristic. After the Austrian archduke's assassination in Sarajevo, Siméon Flaissières, a Marseilles physician and socialist politician who wrote occasionally for *Le Petit Provençal,* said the Balkan nations were sheep for the archduke's plan of conquest, and they "would not cry over the death of the wolf." *Le Petit Méridional* portrayed Germany as clearly belligerent. Patriotic and conservative Germans, it declared, "imagine that a happy war will be a remedy for the economic crisis with which Germany is seriously menaced."[38] The two newspapers seem to have accepted the concept of German militarism, even before a demonstration seemed likely by late July.

At the moment of mobilization these two newspapers did not immediately set out on a strong anti-German campaign, however. It is difficult to explain why they were slow to move toward the eyewash-style, anti-German exhortations. Possibly both newspapers, realizing that many readers sympathized with socialist internationalism, wished to assess public opinion before taking an editorial strategy that could offend readership. In addition, residents of this part of France were particularly familiar with Germans as real people. The southern coast had long been a destination for German vacationers, some of whom had formed personal ties with their French hosts in hotels and restaurants. Relating the plight of a Montpellier native captured by the enemy, *Le Petit Méridional* reported in a style sympathetic to the German people, considering the amount of anti-German eyewash that by this time had reached the Paris press. The report included a conversation between a German general and the captive, the general recalling fondly the French soldier's family from his many visits there, and declaring, "From this

day on, you are under my protection. You no longer are at risk. Write to your family, I will have the letter forwarded."[39]

Le Petit Provençal on 27 October published an open letter from German universities, asking enemy nations to "shut your ears to these insults addressed at the German people." Both *Le Petit Méridional* and *Le Petit Provençal* asked Marseilles residents to treat departing German expatriates with respect.[40] These two newspapers differed in their treatment of the enemy, however. While Ferdy in *Le Petit Provençal* established a routine of anti-German tirades as early as 7 August ("barbarians, Germanic hordes, teuton ogres"), *Le Petit Méridional* restrained itself for the most part from using strong adjectives. The pejorative "*boche*" (kraut) did not appear in *Le Petit Provençal* before 21 August, possibly because it was picked up from returning troops, as first references quote soldiers. But *Le Petit Méridional* did not use the word before 1 November, and after that used it quite sparingly, compared to the Paris press, nearly always in headlines to save space. *Le Petit Méridional* and *Le Petit Provençal* almost never used the word in regular news columns. It was reserved for commentary and quotations.

Guarded optimism, a search for facts replace eyewash

The eyewash category of missing information, asks: what did they report, and when did they report it? Critics of eyewash complained often of missing or late information. In the newspapers studied here, however, despite a few obvious exceptions, many of the main aspects of the autumn 1914 events were reported as rapidly as they might have been using contemporary standards of timeliness. The list below compares actual dates of important 1914 war-related events purportedly held back in eyewash-heavy newspapers, along with dates they were reported in each of the two newspapers studied here. Findings conflict with the common assertion that newspapers in France did not report the German invasion of French territory before the very end of August—or any other accurate war news during this period.[41] On the other hand, while battles on the western front were reported in fair detail, if sometimes rather late, reports of battles in the east tended to be inaccurate or nonexistent.

Germans take Brussels, 20 August.
Reported by LPP 23 August.
Reported by LPM 23 August.

Germans enter France, 24 August.
Reported by LPP 26 August.
Reported by LPM 29 August.

Russian defeat at Tannenberg, 20-30 August.
Not reported by either LPP or LPM.

French government flees Paris for Bordeaux, 3 September.
Reported by LPP 3 September.
Reported by LPM 4 September.

German offensive to Paris; defense of Paris prepared, 3 September.
Reported by LPP 3 September.
Reported by LPM 3 September.

"Battle of the Marne" named, described, 5-10 September.
Reported by LPP 12 September.
Reported by LPM 12 September.

First trenches, 15 September.
Reported by LPP 24 September.
Reported by LPM 10 October.

During late August and early September in France, front-page headlines in these newspapers declared that Russian troops were making spectacular advances into Germany (egregious lie, but who then could know?) while news of the western front carefully suggested neither gain nor loss. This agrees with Becker's findings for Paris newspapers.[42] Other reports concerning the war in both papers were accurate, some perhaps unexpectedly so, considering censorship, eyewash, press correspondents barred from the front, and the limits of understanding battles as they were unfolding during this pre-skywatch period. *Le Petit Provençal* proved strongest of the two in this area. Writing as early as 15 August, Henri Michel, a socialist politician and collaborator with *Le Petit Provençal,* accurately described Germany's plan to march through Belgium, attack France from the north, and quickly take Paris before Russia had a chance to mobilize. But Germany had met unexpected resistance in Belgium, Michel rightly observed, slowing its advance, to France's favor. Careful readers with maps would have been able to trace lines of the front from day to day, as after the German invasion was announced, *Le Petit Provençal* included detailed daily descriptions of the front line under its *Communiqué officiel.* On 8 September, the line was described passing Nanteuil-le-Haudouin, Meaux, Sezanne, Vitry-le-François, Verdun, and other cities and villages.

Two days later Ferdy wrote, "French people are resolved to welcome with *sang-froid* good as well as bad news, because it would be quite troubling to exaggerate the importance of some over the others." The tone of this article represents a marked alteration from that of one month before,

when hyperbole was normal. The last eyewash style of headline was published on page one of *Le Petit Provençal* 15 September 1914: "Germans thrown out of France." The next day the headline was corrected; *Le Petit Provençal* reflected only that German troops "were still retreating to the north of Reims." On 18 September the newspaper seemed to have made the deliberate decision to eliminate this exaggerated style of eyewash, as described in category one above. Instead of a headline suggesting strong optimistic action by allied troops, a neutral construction was presented, often lacking a verb: "The new battle"; "From l'Oise to la Meuse"; or "Battle raging on all the front." In a much less prominent position than before, a subhead used a temporizing construction: "At certain points the enemy is checked." Eyewash style of the preceding weeks did not return to this newspaper.

This sort of exaggerated headline was also eliminated by *Le Petit Méridional* at an even earlier date, August 24. A front-page editorial signed "A. A." explained, "As we must guard ourselves from exaggerated optimism yesterday, so we have the duty to not let ourselves fall into unreasonable pessimism today. Quick and exaggerated changes of opinion only serve to create a general enervation that can, in the long run, become dangerous." It seems unmistakable from this statement that the newspaper recognized this kind of eyewash as a negative factor in its reporting of the war. Two days after, on 26 August, the leftist daily *Le Dépêche* similarly asked for the "truth of the situation," the only Toulouse daily to do so on this early date.[43] On 31 August the censorship bureau in Paris forbade large banner headlines running across the width of the page, and the hawking of newspapers on the streets. On 1 September *Le Petit Méridional*, under a headline "Our military operations," reflected greater restraints: "Some of our troops suffered partial failures that constrained them to holding onto la Meuse." Clearly frustrated with the eyewash, the newspaper declared in an editorial, "Let us resolutely refuse to accept any news without checking out, map in hand, if the announced facts can be possible."[44]

In fact, during the fall, both newspapers reflected a more and more pessimistic reality, abandoning any pretense of all categories of eyewash except the familiar calumnies heaped on Germany and its troops. *Le Petit Provençal* on 2 October described for the first time the nature of a battle, quoting a soldier named Paul Souchon, admitting, "First it is necessary, when one talks of modern battle, to abandon all romantic or medieval conceptions of that we have of it. One does not see the enemy, one knows nothing of events as a whole . . ." and while the actual statistics of men killed in the bloody autumn battles were not published, the newspapers did not seem to wish to hide the human costs of war. The first of the nearly daily lists of local soldiers "died on the field of honor" appeared in *Le Petit Provençal* 12 September, and in *Le Petit Méridional* 9 October. In *Le Petit Provençal* of 22 November, under the headline "How Marseilles soldiers die," a letter

from an officer to a Mme. Gallo describes the death of one of her five children, beginning "I regret that I must inform you of grievous news." On 1 December the same newspaper suggested the scale of death in the war by a calculation of cost per man killed: 102,000 francs per man in the Russo-Japanese war; 105,000 francs in the Franco-Prussian war; and in this war, "In spite of the enormous sacrifice of human life, the expense figure will certainly attain a fantastic total."

On 3 December, the first photograph of a mutilated Marseilles soldier was published, Louis-Xavier Chatelain, who holds two crutches supporting two wooden legs. "One can encounter him on the streets of our city patiently supporting himself on his crutches."[45] This photo published only four months into the war is particularly significant, considering the assumptions historians have made of the press during this period; it illustrates a clear decision by editors of *Le Petit Provençal* to present a true version of the war's suffering in local terms, not in abstraction, but in reality based on actual lives in Marseilles. Moreover, a photo likely captures a more emotional and powerful message than words. *Le Petit Méridional*, while not publishing photographs of allied war victims until 29 January 1915, when allied troops were shown identifying bodies of comrades, did offer frank descriptions of trench life on 7 December and, in an article surprisingly passed by the censor, described fraternization: "A Frenchman and a German, each getting out of their respective holes, advanced toward each other and, after having shaken hands, exchanged tobacco. From both sides the men were standing up without arms on top of the trenches."

Conclusion

This evidence indicates historians need to re-examine some old assumptions regarding eyewash in the French press, particularly as they relate to the supposed lies and lacunae of fall 1914.[46] As Fred Kupferman observed in his bleak indictment of wartime French journalism, "While mobilized soldiers were discovering that gunfire kills, newspapers assured their families that they were risking nothing."[47] This was clearly not the case in the two large dailies studied here, especially *Le Petit Provençal.* In fact, neither paper adopted the category of heroic odes to war and battle people often think of first as eyewash and, in fact from the beginning, treated the war as a disaster for France. While they did publish some material falling into the category of outrageous fibs, primarily as headlines, during the first several weeks of conflict, later articles and more objective corrections could be interpreted as an embarrassed apology from desperate editors. Certainly neither paper suggested French troops were not heroes, but they also did not suggest their lot was an easy one, as the category of foolish heroic treat-

ment would dictate, and by the last months of 1914 were attempting frank descriptions of trench life. (In 1915 and 1916 the descriptions would become surprisingly graphic, not neglecting rats, mud, and blood.) By the end of 1914, the only eyewash category that remained common in these newspapers was the anti-German tirades. *Le Petit Provençal,* in particular, indulged in *bochisme* (idiom roughly translated as "anti-krautism"). *Le Petit Méridional* seemed more inhibited, but the pro-German apologies of early fall vanished.

The generalized assumption of a French wartime press awash in eyewash needs to be reconsidered: at least two large provincial newspapers clearly did not fit the mold. These large politically left-leaning provincial newspapers were not seldom wildly optimistic, retrograde, sophomoric, inaccurate, and silly. They showed considerable deviation from the expected eyewash, especially after August 1914, and clearly tried to fill a role of offering fact-based information, if with an optimistic slant. Sometimes information was not fair or honest, perhaps to be blamed on editorial policy, censorship, or plain old journalistic bias of the moment.

Of course, neither newspaper established a truly anti-government posture regarding most French wartime policy (except repeated criticism of censorship in *Le Petit Provençal*), an approach in any case that usually resulted in cuts so severe it left pages with huge blanks, if publication was even possible.[48] These newspapers also reflected accurately previous assumption that the press engaged in anti-German tirades during this period, although perhaps not as vigorously as has been assumed. In both an acknowledgment and defense of the newspaper's wartime failings, André Négis, on 1 November 1918, wrote in *Le Petit Provençal,*

> I admit that some newspapers indulged in a bit of eyewash for their readers. This was not always their fault, nor did it make them happy. When one receives at the stroke of midnight a dispatch announcing that the kaiser has the mumps or that Hindenburg has been wounded by a bomb from an airplane, it is very difficult the check out the information.

Why did these two newspapers deviate from the expected eyewash of 1914? No archives of the newspapers themselves have survived to offer clues. Perhaps the tradition of Midi regional independence and distance from Paris influenced content. More likely, the *gauchiste* (leftist) position of both newspapers, especially the more socialist *Le Petit Provençal,* had paved a long tradition of adversarial journalism, particularly as it related to support of war and the military. Socialists in the Bouches-du-Rhône region served by the Marseilles daily showed a strong anti-Paris, pro-strike streak before 1914 and rallied to pacifism in 1917.[49] *Le Petit Provençal* was "The principal

supporter of the worker's movement [unions] among the daily press."[50] As the left-leaning, generally socialist, trade union movements in France stood nearly universally in opposition to the government's military policies before the war, this tight connection may have influenced the newspaper's anti-eyewash coverage during the war. While *Le Petit Méridional* did not have as strong a socialist tie, it clearly was the most leftist in that traditionally anti-Paris region of France, and often opened its pages to socialist voices, the daily reading of choice for the left in the Hérault area.[51] In France of the First World War, clearly, not all large daily journalism deserves to be stigmatized as a wretched example of wartime journalism at its worst.

Endnotes

1 Pierre Albert and Fernand Terrou, *Histoire de la Presse* (Paris: PUF, Series "Que Sais-Je?", 1970), 65, 76-77. All French translations are by the author.

2 Ross F. Collins, "The Development of Censorship in World War I France" *Journalism Monographs* 131 (February 1992): 7-8.

3 Raymond Manevy, *Histoire de la presse 1914-1939* (Paris: Editions Corréa et Cie., 1945), 31.

4 Claude Bellanger, Jacques Godechot, Pierre Guiral, Fernand Terrou, *Histoire générale de la presse française*, 5 vols. (Paris: PUF, 1972), 3:425-6.

5 Jean-Jacques Becker, *The Great War and the French People* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1985), 30-39.

6 Fred Kupferman, review article, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (1976), 316 (by Pierre Albert); Michel Baumont, "La presse niçoise de 1914 à 1916," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (Oct.-Dec. 1971), 632.

7 Reference in Becker, *The Great War*, 39.

8 See, for instance, Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in World War I* (Cambridge, MA, The M.I.T. Press, 1971, republication of 1927 edition); Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1928).

9 Lucien Gaillard, *La Naissance du parti socialiste à Marseille* (Marseille: Editions Jeanne Laffitte, 1980), 131; R. D. Anderson, *France 1870-1914: Politics and Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), 51, 57; Patrick Barrau, "Le mouvement ouvrier à Marseille (1900-1914)" (Ph.D. diss., Université d'Aix-Marseille 1971), 154-5.

10 Sidney Bradshaw Fay, "The Influence of the Pre-War Press in Europe," extracted from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 64 (March 1931) 5. Bellanger et

al., *Histoire générale*, 253-4; Pierre Bouyoux, "L'Opinion publique à Toulouse pendant la première guerre mondiale, 1914-1918," (Ph.D. diss., Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1970), 19;

11 René DeLivois, *Histoire de la presse française tome II: de 1881 à nos jours* (Lausanne: Editions Spes, 1965), 407; Bouyoux, "L'Opinion publique," 19.

12 Collection "Le passé présent," *La Provence de 1900 à nos jours* (Toulouse: Privat éditeur, 1978), 99 (by Pierre Guiral); Paul Masson, ed., *Les Bouches-du-Rhône. Encyclopédie départementale*, 17 vols. (Paris and Marseille: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion and Archives départementales, 1919-1937), 5:239; Edouard Baratier, ed., *Histoire de la Provence* (Toulouse: Privat éditeur, 1969), 515; Jean Sagnes, *Le Midi rouge. Mythe et realité* (Paris: Editions anthropos, 1982), 16, 20; Claude Willard, *Les Guesdists. Le Movement socialiste en France 1893-1905* (Paris: Editions anthropos, 1965), 288. The term "left" or "gauche" in France may be defined a number of ways. This study generally includes moderate leftists reflecting trade union, socialist, and Radical party concerns, as opposed to conservative and royalist viewpoints and their newspapers.

13 Masson, *Les Bouches-du-Rhône*, 626; Georges Liens, "L'Opinion à Marseille en 1917," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 15 (1968): 59. French newspaper circulations were considered trade secrets at this time, making estimates difficult. Circulations of these newspapers were pieced together from several sources including Jean Watelet, *Bibliographie de la presse française, politique et d'information générale 1865-1914, tome 13 (Bouches-du-Rhône* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1974), 13; Masson, *Les Bouches-du-Rhône*, 621; Mireille Lacave and Jean Sagnes, *L'Hérault d'autrefois* (LeCoteau: Editions Horvath, 1983), 101; André Demaison, *Les Voix de la France: La presse de province au XXe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1932), 73.

14 Pierre Guiral, "Journaux et journalistes marseillais," *Revue Marseille* 151 (1988): 5-6;Francine Amaury, *Histoire du plus grand quotidien de la IIIe République: "Le Petit Parisien" 1876-1944* (Paris: PUF, 1972), 386-7.

15 Becker, *1914: Comment les français sont entrés dans la guerre*, 442-3.

16 Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *14-18: Les Combattants des tranchées* (Paris: Armand Colin Editeur, 1986), 111.

17 See Ross F. Collins, "The Development of Censureship in World War I France," *Journalism Monographs* 131 (February 1992).

18 Bellanger et al., *Histoire générale*, 409; Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique*, 104; Bouyoux, "L'Opinion publique," 96.

19 Bouyoux, "L'Opinion publique," 74.

20 *Le Petit Provençal*, 9 August 1914; 21 October 1914.

21 Becker, *The Great War and the French People*, 29.

22 Camille Ferdy, *Le Petit Provençal*, 29 September 1914.

23 Column by staff writer and editor André Négis, *Le Petit Provençal*, 20 August 1914; 2 September 1914.

24 *Le Petit Méridional*, 20 August 1914.

25 9 September 1914.

26 *Le Petit Méridional*, 13 December 1914.

27 18 August 1914.

2817 August 1914; 5 September 1914.

29 25 August 1914.

30 See conclusion.

31 Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty* (London: André Deutsch Ltd., 1975; Pan Books Edition, 1989), 85-6.

32 Becker, *1914: Comment les français sont entrés dans la guerre,* 280; Bouyoux, 74.

33 28 July 1914.

34 29 July 1914; 30 July 1914; 1 August 1914.

35 31 July 1914.

36 *Le Petit Méridional*, 30 July 1914.

37 *Le Petit Provençal*, 2 August 1914.

38 *Le Petit Provençal*, 7 July 1914; *Le Petit Méridional*, 20 June 1914.

39 16 October 1914.

40 1 August 1914; 5 August 1914.

41 Bellanger et al., *Histoire générale*, 409; Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique*, 104; Bouyoux, "L'Opinion publique," 96.

42 Becker, *Comment les français sont entrés dans la guerre*, 544.

43 Bouyoux, "L'Opinion publique," 98.

44 28 August 1914.

45 The next day, however, the newspaper reported it had been duped: Chatelain had been arrested in Nice, accused of falsifying military papers and buying a medal for 135 francs to turn him into a "glorieux blessé."

46 Knightley, *First Casualty*, 109.

47 Fred Kupferman, *L'Histoire* 107 (Jan. 1988), special issue on the First World War, 99.

48 After early 1916, however, a humorous weekly published by *Le Petit Provençal*, called *Le Bavard*, made a vigorous attempt to confront censorship. Its resulting pages were a swiss cheese of censored columns. See Ross F. Collins, "A Battle for Humor: Satire and Censorship in *Le Bavard*," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 73 (Autumn 1996): 645-656.

49 Pierre Guiral and L Pierrein., *Les Bouches-du-Rhône* (Grenoble: Les Editions françaises nouvelles, 1945), 193; Jean Tourette, *Marseille au temps du transbordeur* (Marseille: no pub., 1965), 50.

50 Patrick Barrau, "Le Mouvement ouvrier à Marseille (1900-1914)" (Ph.D. diss., Université d'Aix-Marseille, 1971) 7.

51 Jean Sagnes, *Le Mouvement ouvrier en Languedoc* (Toulouse: Privat éditeur, 1980), 64, 145.

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Creating Myth and Legend: O.B. Keelor and Bobby Jones

by Robin Hardin

Bobby Jones, perhaps the greatest golfer of all-time, dominated golf in the 1920s. He won thirteen major championships over an eight-year span, and won all four major championships in 1930. But Jones realized his fame was not just due to his exploits on the golf course. He credited O.B. Keelor of the Atlanta Journal for helping him gain this fame. This study used a frame analysis to examine the language Keelor used to promote Jones. Research has shown that the frames used in news articles can influence public opinion and perception of an event, issue, or person. This study argues that the frames Keelor used in his writings helped create the mystique and legend of Bobby Jones.

Stephen Lowe recently wrote of a need for golf history, especially during the 1920s, the so-called Golden Age of Sport.[1] Bobby Jones, perhaps the greatest golfer of all-time, dominated golf in the 1920s. He won thirteen major championships over an eight-year span, including winning all four major championships in 1930.[2] Paul Gallico, a sportswriter for *the New York Daily News*, called Jones' winning of the grand slam the greatest athletic accomplishment of the 1920s.[3] But Jones realized his fame was due in large part to the journalist O.B. Keelor. Jones wrote in the preface to *The Bobby Jones Story from the Writings of O.B. Keelor*, edited by Grantland Rice:

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> To gain any sort of fame it isn't enough to do the job. There must be someone to spread the news. If fame can be said to attach to one because of his proficiency in the inconsequential performance of striking a golf ball, what measure of it I have enjoyed has been due in large part to Keelor and his gifted typewriter.[4]

Oscar Bane Keelor was often called Jones' "Boswell," by his fellow journalists as he recorded Jones' exploits for the *Atlanta Journal.*[5] His method of writing was ballyhoo in nature in that it was blatantly promotional and sensational.[6] The purpose of this research is to provide a glimpse at how Jones was portrayed in his hometown newspaper and how Keelor played a role in creating the myth of Bobby Jones.

Sports in the 1920s

It has been called the Golden Decade, the Jazz Age, and the Roaring Twenties. The ideas of Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Thomas Edison, and Max Planck were discussed. Lon Chaney, Tom Mix, Charlie Chaplain, Will Rogers, and Charles Lindbergh were some of the more popular figures of the decade, and audiences swooned over Rudolph Valentino. But to sports fans, the 1920s will always be the Golden Age. The sports world produced perhaps the greatest collection of athletes of any decade before or since. Babe Ruth, Red Grange, Bill Tilden, Bobby Jones, Helen Wills, and Jack Dempsey were some of those who dominated the world of sports.

The preeminent sports writer of the 1920s, Grantland Rice, asked:

> Just why this period from 1919 to 1930, in the wake of the Marne, the Muese, Cantigny, Belleau Woods, Sedan and Hindenburg Line,[7] is called the Golden Age of Sport?
>
> The answer is a simple one. It is because the postwar period gave the game the greatest collection of stars, involving both skill and color, that sport has ever known since the first cave man tackled the mammoth and the aurochs bull.
>
> [The star athletes of the era] had that indefinable quality that comes from championship ability plus the love and admiration of the masses on the personal side, which sport has never even approached since and probably never will again in the life span of this generation.[8]

Paul Gallico wrote in 1931:

> Never before had there been a period when, from the ranks of every sport, arose some glamorous, unbeatable figure who shattered record after record, spread-eagled his field and drew into the box office an apparently unending stream of gold and silver. We have lived through the decade of deathless heroes.[9]

The Jack Dempsey-Jess Willard boxing match on 4 July 1919 is said to have marked the beginning of the Golden Age.[10] Stanley Woodward and Frank Graham wrote, "[The 1920s] was a period of flamboyant athletes, hero-worshipping fans, and wide prosperity."[11] Woodward was the sports editor at the *New York Herald Tribune* and later at newspapers in Miami and Newark, N.J. Graham was the publicity director for the Brooklyn Dodgers and later the assistant managing editor of *Sport* magazine.

The end of the Golden Age was marked by the stock market crash in October 1929. Prosperity was gone, and it was time for different ideas and different ways of thought.[12] The crash changed not only American society, but the role of sports and the nature of sports journalism.[13] The journalism growth of the 1920s leveled off during the 1930s as circulation and advertising revenue decreased. As a result, newspapers printed shorter editions and articles became shorter.[14] But there is little doubt newspapers played a role in shaping the image of sport during the 1920s.

Lester Jordan wrote in *Editor and Publisher*:

> Present-day opinion of newspaper editors, psychologists, trade-publication editors, advertising men, and journalism instructors is that sports on their present scale would be impossible without the sports sections of the daily papers. Without the assistance of the newspapers, sports would never have attained their present popularity. Sports officials are among the first to admit the debt that baseball, football, boxing, and other sports owe the papers.[15]

Just how sportswriters both encouraged the sports boom and responded to the public's demand for sports news is a question worth further investigation. But this research will focus on the role the *Atlanta Journal* and O.B. Keelor played in the promotion of Bobby Jones. The *Journal* is the focus of this study because at the time newspapers provided people with virtually all their exposure to sports during the decade, as radio was just being developed.

Sports Journalism in the 1920s

The first step in separating sports news from the rest of the newspaper was taken in the 1880s when Joseph Pulitzer organized the first sports department at the *New York World.* Frank Luther Mott wrote that by the 1890s all "great" papers in the leading cities had sports editors and trained sports staff.[16] Then in the midst of the circulation war with Pulitzer, William Randolph Hearst introduced the first distinctive sports section in 1895 in his *New York Journal.* The idea of a sports section caught on gradually and by the 1920s was part of the newspaper.[17]

Not only was newspaper coverage of sports growing, but magazines and sporting journals also began to become more numerous and more popular. Magazines devoted to horse racing and outdoor activities, such as *Forest and Stream*, and the growth and interest in team sports also gave rise to magazines devoted to baseball and football, such as the *Sporting Life* and the *Sporting News.*[18] Sports were becoming more organized, leagues were created, and rules were established. New sports were being introduced among all levels of society. Basketball, tennis, golf, and polo joined baseball and football in the sporting world during the last half of the nineteenth century.

The nature of sportswriting was changing as well. The summary lead, when the first paragraph only contained the main facts of the story, was used in sports stories at the beginning of the twentieth century. Up to that point, most sports stories were written chronologically with little reorganizing of the material. Newspapers were doing all they could to promote sports and encourage their growth. Some newspapers even went so far as to publish the rules of the various sports to educate the public about them.[19] Sports reporters found it important to promote sports. These people had found a way to make a living while enjoying themselves. What better way to earn a paycheck than by watching a baseball game and then writing a news story about it? Sports found a strong ally in reporters and the newspapers in which their articles appeared. With the tremendous change in journalism and in sports, the two entities met, and sportswriting become a genre all its own at the beginning of the twentieth century.

There were two camps of sportswriters in the 1920s, and Stanley Walker divided them into the "Gee Whiz" school and the "Aw Nuts" school. The "Gee Whiz" writers were enthusiasts and not afraid to use adjectives. The "Aw Nuts" writers were cynical and critical in their writing about sports.[20] Straight-forward, factual sports reporting began in the 1930s in what Stanley Woodward called the "On-the-Button" school. It was a return to the "Who, What, Where, When, Why" type of journalism.[21] But some of the most colorful writing ever emerged during the 1920s from the "Gee Whiz" writers. This type of writing was not unusual though. The 1920s was known as

the era of Jazz Journalism in which the press was often preoccupied with entertainment, rather than concentrating on reporting significant stories or interpreting news events. The exploits of North Pole explorer Richard Byrd and flyer Charles Lindbergh caught the headlines and attention of America, as did the Scopes Trial in 1925. The press played up the Teapot Dome[22] oil-lease scandal, and Prohibition brought gangsters such as Al Capone into the spotlight.[23] Typical stories glorified celebrities and built up sordid events, such as the Leopold and Loeb murder trial, into national sensations.[24] Sensational crime reports and court stories typified jazz journalism.[25]

O.B. Keelor

Oscar Bane Keelor was born in Chicago in 1882 and moved to Pickens County, Ga., four years later. He attended Marietta High School where he studied Greek and Latin, which laid the foundation for his lifelong classical education. He had an endless supply of prose and poetry, and his interests ranged from opera to gambling to classic literature and all sports. Keelor had a knack for storytelling, which, in part, made him a great writer.[26]

Keelor started in the newspaper business in 1909 with the *Atlanta Georgian*, and then moved to the *Kansas City Star*, where he was its first reporter to write under a byline.[27] He returned to Atlanta in 1913 and went to work for the *Atlanta Journal*.[28] Jones was big news in Atlanta so it was only natural that Keelor traveled with him and wrote about him for the *Journal*.

The first golf tournament Keelor covered was the 1916 Georgia State Amateur, an event Jones won. Jones wrote that the most enduring reward he got from that tournament was the friendship of Keelor.[29] Keelor was present for all thirteen major championships that Jones won and collaborated with Jones on his 1927 autobiography, *Down the Fairway*. Later, Jones wrote in *GOLF Is My Game*, "... the play and result were as personally his (Keelor's) as mine. Indeed, I think he suffered in defeat and reveled in the victory even more than did I."[30] Rice wrote, "(Keelor) could cover any assignment given to him. But golf was his big love. He knew golf thoroughly, so no one was better equipped to write of the achievements that surpassed anything the game had ever known."[31]

Keelor did not play golf himself because he had developed inflammatory rheumatism in his left knee in 1917, which made him limp for the rest of his life. Nonetheless, he was still able to follow the exploits of Jones and other golfers.[32] He had a great knowledge of the game due to his relationship with Jones and the many golf tournaments that he covered. Pettersen Marzoni, a colleague of Keelor, attested to Keelor's knowledge of the game when he wrote, "Keelor knows more theoretical golf, perhaps, than any

man living. He knows what makes every shot, though he can't make them. He knows what shot should be made and when. He has watched Bobby [Jones] through the years until he can see a deviation from flawlessness that no other eye can catch."

Keelor was a member of the "Gee Whiz" school. He was a reporter but also served as Jones' publicist and historian and filled those duties for the rest of the media industry as well. Jones wrote that he doubted any such relationship existed between a performer and reporter in sport or anywhere else like the one he had with Keelor.[33] Keelor reported on practically every stroke Jones took and through his writings helped make Jones the celebrity he was and the legend he is now.

The Media and Public Attitudes

Jones certainly gave sportswriters plenty of good copy. The native of Atlanta won his first major tournament in 1923, and by 1930 he had won five U.S. Amateurs, four U.S. Opens, three British Opens, and one British Amateur. But did Keelor influence the perception of Jones?

Erving Goffman maintained that people actively classify, organize, and interpret life experiences to make sense of them. The interpretations, which are labeled as frames, enable people "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" events or information.[34] Todd Gitlin defined frames as "persistent selection, emphasis and exclusion."[35] To William Gamson, a frame is a "central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning" to events related to an issue.[36] Framing can also be viewed as placing information in context as such so certain elements of the issue would get more attention from a person.[37] Bonnie Riechert defined framing as "the selective definition or representation of an event, issue or idea."[38] Robert Entman said frames "call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have reactions."[39] A story angle "which transforms an occurrence into a news event, and that, in turn, into a news report, is a frame."[40]

Entman contended framing involves the selection and highlighting of some information and the exclusion of other information.[41] The word framing is conceptualized differently, but most researchers do reach a consensus that the "word frame means the perspective a person applies to define an event or a problem."[42]

How media frame an issue sets an agenda of attributes and influences how the public perceives it. News slant does influence public opinion, according to Entman.[43] Salma Ghanem wrote, "depending on how an issue is presented or framed in the media, the public will think about that issue in a particular way."[44] How the media cover an issue has an influence on how the public thinks about the issue.

The slant or angle Keelor took is partly what caused Jones to attain the legendary status that he did. Keelor wrote about Jones in a way that promoted him and celebrated his accomplishments on the golf course. This in turn caused the public to perceive Jones the way Keelor perceived him. The debate continues today about whether the media can influence public opinion. Many things can influence an individual's opinion, including perception and interpersonal relationships. Media can also influence public opinion and an individual's opinion.[45] Keelor wrote about Jones in a way that helped him gain fame.

To examine just how Keelor did this, a frame analysis of the articles Keelor wrote in the *Atlanta Journal* was conducted. The dates chosen for analysis were the weeks of the major tournaments in which Jones competed between 1923 and 1930. This provided roughly 118 articles. The articles were read and notes taken regarding each one. The articles were then reexamined, and the frames were developed. An examination of those articles revealed how Keelor "framed" Jones and helped him gain the status that he had and still enjoys eighty years later.

The Framing of Bobby Jones

Three frames were identified in Keelor's writings about Jones that were part of the mythmaking of Jones: marked-man, championship gatekeeper, and mythical excellence.

The Frame of Marked-Man. The frame of marked-man emerged early in Jones' career and continued throughout it. Jones' opponents during tournaments "all shoot their heads off against Bobby. He is the 'shining mark.'"[46] Keelor wrote, ". . . inspired golfers . . . go perfectly mad at the very name of Jones and shoot their heads completely off."[47] Keelor added that, "it is odd how they select the days to go insane" in referring to people playing their best golf when they face Jones.[48] When Jones was defeated in the 1923 U.S. Amateur, the man who defeated him was a called a "man of destiny" as he beat Jones and eventually won the tournament.[49]

In the U.S. Amateurs before 1924, Jones was always beaten by "some inspired player shooting inhuman golf," and Rudy Knepper, who gave Jones a tough match in 1924, "couldn't play with Bobby unless he became deranged."[50]

When Jones had a close match in the 1926 British Amateur, Andrew Jamieson went "crazy" and was unable to "deviate from par." Jones took with him to Britain "the proclivity for catching them hot."[51] Jess Sweetser eventually won the 1926 British Amateur, and the "unexpected defeat" of

Jones made his win easy in the finals.[52] Sweetser's victory was called easy because he did not have to face Jones.

Jones' loss in the 1926 U.S. Amateur was understandable as well. Jones had to play Chick Evans and Francis Ouimet to reach the finals against George Von Elm, whose matches were not as challenging. Even though Jones "was off his game," he "still pushed the match the 35 holes" and "only he could do this."[53] The qualifying score for match play in the 1928 U.S. Amateur was lower than expected, and this indicated "the boys were getting better and better, and there is only one Bobby Jones" to fend them off.[54] Jones was upset in the first round of the 1929 U.S. Amateur, "but it was not meant for Jones to win that match," and Johnny Goodman "was diabolically lucky" to beat Jones.[55]

The Frame of Championship Gatekeeper. A frame of championship gatekeeper also emerged in Keelor's writings. A golfer must beat Jones to win any championship. Other golfers fade in and out of championship contention from tournament to tournament, but Jones is always in contention. In the 1926 U.S. Amateur, Jones was the "golden boy of golf [who] goes on forever."[56] If the 1927 U.S. Amateur was stroke play instead of match play, "Bobby would spread eagle the field to the stage it would be playing for second place in jig-time."[57] George Von Elm defeated Jones at the 1926 U.S. Amateur, but Jones was not playing to the top of his capability and "no one on earth except Bobby Jones could have wrung a score and a match like that from a game which was gone beyond recall."[58] Jones "was the cynosure of all eyes; and they play the field against him" at the 1927 U.S. Open.[59] "The boys [were] getting better and better and there is only one Bobby Jones," was how Keelor described Jones' chances in the 1928 U.S. Amateur.[60] Keelor liked Jones' chances of winning the 1928 U.S. Amateur because "no man can beat Jones when he is right."[61] When Jones won the 1928 U.S. Amateur, Keelor wrote that "there is no difference at all between the amateur and open championships all the winner has to do in either is to beat Jones."[62]

It was Jones "against the field" in the 1929 U.S. Open as well.[63] Keelor wrote that the Open championship is "an invitation tournament, where they invite the best players in the world to see if anyone can beat Bobby Jones, and it is Bobby against the field."[64] The 1929 U.S. Open marked the eighth year where "they have matched the best professional golfers in the world against one single Bobby Jones."[65] The Open championship is a "question of which professional can take" Bobby Jones this year, but "there's only one Bobby."[66] Keelor wrote, "it is Bobby Jones who has to be beaten before any man can ram a putt down for the championship."[67] In the 1930 U.S. Open, "there was only one of Bobby," but "there are a dozen in the gang" of players trying to beat him.[68]

Frame of Mythical Excellence. A frame of mythical excellence began to appear in Keelor's writings in 1923 as well. Even though Jones had only won one major championship at that point, Keelor called him "one of the greatest open champions America has ever seen" only two months after he had won the championship.[69] Jones' stellar play in closing holes of the 1923 U.S. Open "was the greatest finishing punch ever seen in a golf championship."[70] Jones also "proved himself the worthiest wearer of the crown" after this victory.[71] Jones failed to repeat as U.S. Open champion in 1924, but Keelor called it the "greatest defense of his title in the last fourteen years."[72] This is ironic because Johnny McDermott won back-to-back U.S. Opens in 1911 and 1912. Even though Jones did not win the 1924 U.S. Open, Keelor still put Jones on top of the golfing world with, "the greatest medallist of all-time still stands on his record."[73] Jones had only won one major championship at that time, the 1923 U.S. Open.

In an early round match in the 1924 U.S. Amateur, Ducky Corkran "was up against the greatest medallist of the age" in Bobby Jones.[74] After Jones won the 1924 U.S. Amateur, Keelor called him "the greatest golfer of his generation," and his victory over Francis Ouimet in the 1924 U.S. Amateur was "the most invincible march ever seen in a round of the United States Amateur Championship."[75] Jones was the "greatest golf scoring machine the world ha[d] ever seen" in the semi-final match of the 1924 U.S. Amateur.[76] "No champion ever traveled to glory in as steady a march or by as decisive a series of victories in match play as the greatest medallist in sweeping aside all opposition" as Jones did on his way to the 1924 U.S. Amateur championship.[77] Ducky Corkran was the medallist at the 1924 U.S. Amateur, but in the opening round of the 1925 U.S. Amateur, he shot a seventy-nine which paled in comparison to Jones' seventy-three. This did not surprise Keelor because "such is the manner in which they come and go, while only Bobby, the greatest medallist, goes on forever."[78] Jones was the "greatest medallist of them all" in the 1925 U.S. Open,[79] and even though he lost in a playoff, he nonetheless had "made his reputation secure as the greatest golfer that ever appeared in the United States."[80] This was quite a claim. After Jones won the 1925 U.S. Amateur, Keelor proclaimed, "the greatest of golfers once more assumed the crown."[81]

Jones was the "greatest living medallist" at the 1926 U.S. Amateur.[82] Jones defeated Chick Evans in the 1926 U.S. Amateur, and Keelor described Jones as "the youngster who today bestrides the world of golf as colossus"[83] and wrote "the golden boy stood out ahead of the procession like the figurehead on an old fashion battleship."[84] Even though Jones lost the 1926 U.S. Amateur, he still had "all his worshipers," and "he remain[ed] king of golf, and his crown is that of the world's champion."[85] Even in "defeat some way he is greater than in victory."[86] After Jones won the 1926 U.S. Open, Keelor crowned him "the first official world's champion of golf" because he held

both the U.S. Open and British Open titles.[87] The win in the 1926 U.S. Open added to the "greatest record in golf."[88]

Jones was the "greatest golfer who ever stepped on a championship course" at the 1927 U.S. Amateur.[89] Keelor called his win in this tournament "the greatest stretch of championship golf ever played,"[90] and Jones was the "champion of champions."[91] During the early stages of the 1927 U.S. Open, Keelor reiterated that "Jones [was] the first champion of the world"[92] based on his previous record, and he was "a super-champion."[93] Jones was the "greatest driver that ever stepped on a golf course" at the 1928 U.S. Open.[94] Jones was off his game at the 1928 U.S. Open but only "courage" and "greatness" enabled him to play good enough to tie and then almost win a playoff.[95] Even though he lost the playoff, he was still "the greatest golfer in the world."[96]

"No man can beat Jones when he is right" was how Keelor described Jones' play in the preliminary rounds of the 1928 U.S. Amateur,[97] "and it makes no difference who is facing the iron duke when he is in this mood."[98] After Jones won the 1928 U.S. Amateur, Keelor called him the "monarch of golf"[99] and noted "the emperor was in a regal mood."[100] There was also "no debate who the best man in golf is but people still enter tournaments against him."[101] Jones is "the foremost golfer the world has known,"[102] and when someone is beaten by Jones he has the pleasure of being beaten by the "greatest of all golfers."[103]

The 1929 U.S. Amateur was played at Pebble Beach in California, which still has a reputation for being a difficult course.[104] But "if a course is built to stop Bobby Jones the ordinary expert golfer could not carry a ball around in par," and if "Bobby is in a scoring humor there is no such thing as a difficult golf course."[105] Jones was defeated in the first round of the 1929 U.S. Amateur and the "color of the tournament faded with that last long putt of Bobby Jones' that stopped beside the cup at the eighteenth green."[106] The rest of the competitors were then "playing for runner-up in the national ranking"[107] because the rest of the tournament was "to decide who [was] next to Bobby."[108]

Jones won the 1929 U.S. Open and "stood entirely alone as the great golfer of all time up to present;" "there is not a golfer in the world today who can step with him in the open championship."[109] Jones won the 1929 U.S. Open in a lopsided playoff win, and Keelor described it as "the greatest golfer in the world simply doing his stuff,"[110] and "the seats of the mighty make up a familiar habitat for Bobby Jones."[111]

Jones had already won the British Open and British Amateur heading into the 1930 U.S. Open. Keelor did not believe that anyone could add the U.S. Open title to the other two titles, but Jones was "the only one who has or ever [will] create such a chance."[112] After Jones won the 1930 U.S. Open, "he was the greatest champion of all time."[113]

The 1930 U.S. Amateur then provided an opportunity for Jones to become nearly immortal. He could win all four of golf's major championships in a single year. Jones qualified for the match play portion of the 1930 U.S. Amateur, marking the twelfth time in twelve tries that he did so and "that form is without the most remote parallel in the history of golf."[114] Jones hit into a bunker during qualifying for the 1930 U.S. Amateur, but he did it on purpose so as "to provide the gallery an extremely interesting opportunity for the display of talent" it would take to hit out of the bunker.[115] Jones won the 1930 U.S. Amateur and was "simply too good a golfer for the amateur field to cope with."[116] After his win, "the four horsemen[117] of Merion gallop along under the firm name of Jones, Jones, Jones and Jones."[118] Completing the grand slam was "the supreme feat of the sporting world."[119]

Conclusion

This research shows how Keelor helped Bobby Jones gain the fame that he enjoyed during the 1920s and that he still has today. Keelor's style of writing also is still prevalent at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Jack Lule recently examined the *New York Times'* coverage of Mark McGuire during the 1998 baseball season. McGuire hit seventy homeruns during the season, eclipsing the mark of sixty-one established by Roger Maris in 1961. Lule's conclusions about the coverage given McGuire are similar to the coverage Jones received from Keelor. McGuire was on a quest, was a hero, and had to overcome obstacles to reach his goals. Jones was also on a quest, was a hero, and had obstacles to overcome. This type of writing is not new and is not a fleeting style.[120] Lule noted society has the ability to create heroes, and sports have the ability to supply heroes. Society looks to stadiums and arenas for heroes much like the ancient Greeks and Romans did.[121] Society also looks to newspapers, magazines and television to discover its heroes. Long-time sportswriter Red Smith realized the role journalists could have in creating heroes, but he did not apologize for it. He wrote:

> If we've made heroes out of them, and we have, then we must also lay a whole set of false values at the doorsteps of historians and biographers. Not only has the athlete been blown up larger than life, but so have the politicians and celebrities in all fields, including rock singers and movie stars.
>
> I've tried not to exaggerate the story of athletes. I'd rather, if I could preserve a sense of proportion, to write about them as excellent ballplayers, first-rate players. But I'm sure I have contributed to false values.[122]

Keelor specifically used three frames in his writing of Jones. The frame of being a marked-man was one Keelor used throughout Jones' career. All the other golfers played their best golf against Jones. His opponents were able to raise the level of their games when they played him. Along these same lines, Keelor used a frame of championship gatekeeper. Jones was the favorite to win any tournament in which he played. He was considered the winner until someone beat him. Keelor often noted how Jones was always in contention to win tournaments, but his competition from tournament to tournament changed. The challengers were many, but there was only one Bobby Jones.

Keelor's most enduring and perhaps most powerful frame was that of mythical excellence. Keelor constantly reminded his readers about the greatness of Jones and used descriptive language to do so. Here is where Keelor helped make Jones a legend. The earlier description of this frame shows the ballyhoo.

Keelor was not the only sportswriter showering praise on Jones. Mark Inabinett[123] and Robin Hardin[124] have shown that Rice and Gallico also played a part in the mythmaking of Jones. Newspapers are the scrapbooks of society, and this research also shows how Jones was regarded in the 1920s.

Is the mere presence of an article about an event or person promotional? In a sense yes, because it gets readers thinking about an issue. W.O. McGeehan of the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote that if not for the coverage and "ballyhoo" given baseball during spring training, nobody would attend the opening game of the season. Newspaper coverage of spring training is necessary and vital for the opening of baseball season. Nobody would know when opening day was without the coverage given to spring training.[125] Gallico believed newspapers kept baseball interest alive "throughout the . . . season . . . by reporting daily doings of the local teams."[126] The mere presence of the articles let people know the baseball season was ongoing. The seven-month baseball season can definitely drag on, but newspaper coverage always lets the readers know that baseball is being played. Then when interest peaks as the season ends, the newspapers are still there providing the story to the public.

It appears Keelor was doing what he could to promote Bobby Jones. The examination of the articles revealed that Keelor was not objective in his reporting. This is not always bad. The 1920s was a flamboyant era and that in part dictated the writing style of the sportswriters. Gallico wrote "we were undoubtedly guilty of perpetrating sentimental tosh, or overexaggerating what was a merely a day's work for two professional teams, but it must be remembered that this was a florid era and called more than occasionally for florid reporting to do it justice."[127]

Silas Bent wrote, "the inflation of matter appealing to unconscious passions and hungers continues. The news that startles, thrills and enter-

tains is still blown up. . . . Thus does the American press exemplify day by day the grandiose, the brobdingnagian[128] art of ballyhoo."[129] Sports coverage in the 1920s left behind a legacy of descriptive language and lively interest that made sports a part of American life.[130]

There is no way to ask people eighty years later what they thought about Bobby Jones, and whether O.B. Keelor had any influence over those perceptions. Nor is this really necessary. Keelor continued to write his articles, and his editors continued to publish them. Each frame that Keelor used led to the promotion of Jones.

Keelor's articles were read by nearly half of the population of Atlanta as *The Atlanta Journal* had a Sunday circulation of more than 134,000 and the population of Atlanta in 1930 was just over 270,000. Keelor's weekday articles reached 85,000 subscribers.[131] But Keelor's influence was not limited to the *Atlanta Journal*, as he also wrote for The Associated Press and was named an honorary member of the organization in 1926.[132] Keelor wrote more than 500 articles for The Associated Press so his influence was spread throughout the country as well.[133]

Keelor also influenced other sportswriters covering Jones. Ralph Trost of the *Brooklyn Eagle* wrote:

> For a great many more than one of us just breaking in, Keelor made Jones. He WAS Jones. He told us what Jones said, what he hoped, his aims. He told us what he had done – and much about what he was going to do, anddid. Far more than Bob Jones can ever realize, many of us to got to know Bobby through O.B.[134]

Keelor's relationship with Jones had been developed during Jones' playing days. They traveled together to tournaments and spent many hours together. He definitely had a personal interest in Jones. Jones wrote:

> O.B. Keelor and I enjoyed a very real partnership for the better part of twenty years. We traveled thousands of miles together, we lived our golf tournaments together, we wrote a book, did a radio series; and two motion picture series, all in the closest and most harmonious collaboration. I doubt if ever such a relationship existed between reporter in sport or elsewhere.[135]

One way in which framing may occur is through journalistic objectivity. Entman wrote, "Journalists may follow the rules for 'objective reporting' and yet convey a dominant framing of the news text that prevents most audience members from making a balanced assessment of a situation."[136] Keelor was writing about the major golf tournaments of the day, but his

objectivity may have been blurred by his relationship with Jones. He did not write about other golfers as he wrote about Jones, regardless of how well they played. Keelor's writings helped create the mystique and legend of Bobby Jones, and Jones himself acknowledged Keelor's influence.

H.G. Salsinger of the *Detroit News* observed:

> Bobby Jones is the prince of the golf but O.B. Keelor is his prophet and in adulation of the prince, the prophet has too often been neglected. Jones would probably have become prince of the golf world without the prophet but the royal purple of his robe would have lacked much of its illustrious sheen.
>
> While Jones composed his epics, Keelor sang them to the world and the seemed all the finer for the manner of singing.
>
> Here for more than a decade has been one of the finest combinations in all sport.[137]

Sheehan listed Keelor writing about Jones as one of the hundred greatest things to happen to golf in the last hundred years.[138] Keelor's articles about Jones were ballyhoo in nature and influenced the perception of him as a legendary sports figure.

Endnotes

1Stephen R. Lowe, "Change, Continuity, and Golf's Battle of the Century," *Journal of Sport History* 26 (Fall 1999): 521.

2 The major championships in 1930 were the U.S. Open, the British Open, the U.S. Amateur, and the British Amateur.

3 Paul Gallico, *The Golden People* (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 283.

4 Bobby Jones, preface to *The Bobby Jones Story from the Writings of O.B. Keelor*, by Grantland Rice, ed. (Atlanta, GA: Tupper and Love, 1953), viii.

5 James Boswell was a Scottish lawyer and writer renowned as the biographer of Samuel Johnson. A devoted admirer and recorder of another's words and deeds has become known as a Boswell. H.B. Martin, *Fifty Years of American Golf* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1936), 349.

6 Sensational writing or to advertise by sensational methods. The origin of the word is unknown, but there may be some connection between a ballyhoo bird and the common use of the word today. The ballyhoo bird was described in *Harper's* in July 1880 as having four wings and two heads and could whistle through one beak while singing through the other.

The bird was obviously fictional in nature, but today's definition could refer to the loud uproar and noise the bird could supposedly cause.

7 Rice served with the American Expeditionary Force in France during World War I. He is referring to battles that were fought in France during the war.

8 Grantland Rice, "The Golden Panorama," in Allison Danzig and Peter Brandwein, eds., *Sport's Golden Age* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1948), 1, 7.

9 Paul Gallico, "The Golden Decade," *Saturday Evening Post*, 203 (September 1931): 12.

10 Stanley Woodward and Frank Graham, *Sportswriter* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), 155-156.

11 Ibid., 156.

12 Frederick Allen, *Only Yesterday* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1931), 281.

13 Bruce Garrison, and Mark Sablijak, *Sports Reporting*, 2nd ed. (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1983), 27.

14 Ibid., 28.

15 Lester Jordan, "Sports Reporting Was a Scholarly Occupation Fifty Years Ago," *Editor and Publisher*, 2 July 1927, 9.

16 Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History 1690-1960*, 3rd ed., (New York: The MacMillan Company 1962), 443.

17 Robert McChesney, *Sport, Mass Media and Monopoly Capital: Toward a Reinterpretation of the 1920s and Beyond* (master's thesis, University of Washington 1986), 1.

18 Garrison and Sablijak, *Sports Reporting*, 19-20.

19 Robert McChesney, "Media Made Sport: A History of Sports Coverage in the United States," in *Media, Sports and Society: Research on the Communication of Sport*, Lawrence Wenner, ed. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1989), 54.

20 Stanley Walker, *City Editor* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1934), 126-127.

21 Stanley Woodward, *Sports Page* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1949), 60.

22 This was the popular name of a scandal during the presidency of Warren G. Harding. The scandal involved the secret leasing of Naval oil reserves to private companies. Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall was eventually found guilty of bribery and was sentenced to one year in prison. This scandal became a symbol for government corruption and received extensive press coverage.

23 Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988), 308.

24 Nathan Leopold, Jr., 19, and Richard Loeb, 18, kidnapped and murdered a 14-year-old boy in 1924. The incident shocked everyone not only because of the killer's young ages and privileged backgrounds, but because of their cold lack of remorse. The case was also notable as an early, successful use of the insanity defense. Clarence Darrow kept them from the electric chair, and the two were eventually sentenced to life in prison.

25 Simon Bessie, *Jazz Journalism: The Story of the Tabloid Newspapers* (New York: Dutton, 1938).

26 Matthew, *Life and Times of Bobby Jones*, 57.

27 Sidney Matthew, *Life and Times of Bobby Jones* (Chelsea, MI: Sleeping Bear Press, 1995), 60.

28 Keelor worked in the newspaper business from 1909 until he retired in 1950. He spent the last 37 of those years writing for the *Atlanta Journal*. He died shortly after his retirement in 1950. See Grantland Rice, ed., *The Bobby Jones Story from the Writings of O.B. Keelor* (Atlanta, GA: Tupper and Love 1953), xi.

29 Bobby Jones, *GOLF Is My Game* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1960), 91.

30 Jones, *GOLF Is My Game*, 91.

31 Grantland Rice, ed., *The Bobby Jones Story from the Writings of O.B. Keelor* (Atlanta, GA: Tupper and Love 1953), xi.

32 Ibid., 61.

33 Bobby Jones, *The Bobby Jones Story from the Writings of O.B. Keelor*, vii.

34 Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 21.

35 Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980), 7.

36 William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliana, "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach," *American Journal of Sociology* 95, no. 1 (July 1989): 3.

37 Zhondang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, "Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse," *Political Communication* 10, no. 1 (January-March 1993): 57.

38 Bonnie Reichart, *Advocacy Group and News Media Framing of Public Policy Issues: Frame Mapping the Wetland Debate* (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, 1996), 5.

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40 Matthew Mendelsohn, "Television's Frames in the 1988 Canadian Election," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 18, no. 2, (Spring 1993): 150.

41 Entman, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," 53.

42 Toshio Takeshita, "Exploring the Media's Roles in Defining Reality: From Issue Agenda-Setting to Attribute Agenda Setting," in *Communication and Democracy*, ed. Maxwell McCombs, Donald Shaw and David Weaver (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997), 23.

43 Robert Entman, *Democracy Without Citizens: Media and the Decay of American Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 30, 36.

44 Salma Ghanem, "Filling in the Tapestry: The Second Level of Agenda Setting," in *Communication and Democracy*, ed. Maxwell McCombs, Donald Shaw and David Weaver (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997), 7.

45 Severin and Tankard, *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods and Uses in The Mass Media*, 3rd ed. (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1992), 265-266.

46 O.B. Keelor, "Local Amateur Star Given Big Scare by Young Texas Golfer," *Atlanta Journal*, 19 September 1923, 19.

47 O.B. Keelor, "Shooting Brilliant Golf, Max Marston Defeats Jones, 2-1," *Atlanta Journal*, 20 September 1923, 22.

48 O.B. Keelor, "Bobby Jones Beats Evans in Playoff for Low Medalist," *Atlanta Journal*, 21 September 1923, 24.

49 O.B. Keelor, "Sweetser Is Beaten on 38th Hole of Hard Fought Match," *Atlanta Journal*, 23 September 1923, sec. C, p. 1.

50 O.B. Keelor, "Jones and Ouimet, Warm Friends, in Battle Today; Bobby Puts out Knepper," *Atlanta Journal*, 26 September 1924, 25.

51 O.B. Keelor, "Von Elm Subdues Atlanta Ace in Grueling Match, 2-1," *Atlanta Journal*, 19 September 1926, sec. C, pp. 1, 5.

52 O.B. Keelor, "American's Triumph Is Popular Even with Links Foeman," *Atlanta Journal*, 30 May 1926, sec. C, p. 1.

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defenses since coach Knute Rockne devised the lineup in 1922 during their sophomore season. But the foursome needed some help from Grantland Rice, a sportswriter for the New York Herald Tribune, to achieve football immortality. After Notre Dame's 13-7 victory over Army Oct. 18, 1924, Rice called them the Four Horsemen. Jones dominated the 1930 U.S. Amateur in the same fashion.

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Hazel Brannon Smith: Pursuing Truth at Her Peril

by Matthew J. Bosisio

Hazel Brannon Smith practiced old-time journalism with the notion that providing the best obtainable version of the truth was the highest form of service to her readers. She never wavered from her commitment to that principle, even though it eventually contributed to her personal downfall during the civil rights era in the deep South. The Pulitzer Prize-winning editor's courageous stand against bigotry and violence is one of the untold stories of Southern journalism.

For more than forty years, Hazel Brannon Smith relentlessly pursued "truth" in the tradition of old-time journalism. She chased the news wherever it fell within her providence, and she called it as she saw it, plain and unvarnished. In the end, though, for the Pulitzer Prize-winning Mississippi newspaper woman, it was the truth she delivered every Thursday that finally led to her downfall and ended her career.

Editorially defending the civil rights of black residents in and around Lexington, Mississippi, in the 1950s and 1960s was not popular. Newspapers in the deep South were not supposed to work against the social norms. But Smith was a different breed of white, small-town editor. She clung to the notion that "serving humanity through our small efforts" was the principal task of any journalist, regardless of the consequences—even if those consequences meant economic ruin.[1]

Smith deserves to be cast "in the history of journalism as one of the courageous figures in Southern journalism."[2] The Pulitzer committee said as much when it awarded her the prize for editorial writing in 1964, the first time a woman had been recognized in that category. The committee cited

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her for "steadfast adherence to her editorial duty in the face of great pressure and opposition."[3] It was an opposition that, once rolling, never diminished. The onslaught came from white businessmen and a newly formed white Citizens' Council, and that opposition took the form of an advertising boycott of her newspaper, canceled subscriptions, the loss of legal notices, the bombing of her newspaper office, physical threats, and a burning cross on the front lawn of Hazelwood, the spacious grounds on which she lived. It ended when Smith folded the business, her newspaper nearly devoid of paid advertising, her social supports sporadic and fading, and her keen abilities sapped by a quickly advancing case of Alzheimer's disease.

Material from Smith's editorials, news stories, and personal column, "Through Hazel Eyes," in her *Lexington Advertiser* was examined for the period ranging from February 1949 to August 1960. This examination was coupled with interviews with former colleagues, friends, and opponents of the weekly editor, as well as numerous news accounts of her struggles in the popular press and obituaries following her death. This article is not exclusive of the period stated, which best defined her years of success and the years of growing opposition, but includes other times in her career to help better understand Smith as a newspaper editor whose pursuit of truth remained consistent, even at her peril.

A Quick Rise In Mississippi

The story begins with a young woman from Gadsden, Alabama, who went to The University of Alabama to major in journalism. A serious student, Smith wrote for the school newspaper, *The Crimson White*, in her first year and quickly found her way into a role as its managing editor.[4]

Smith loved journalism and she loved the South. The daughter of an electrical contractor, Smith grew up with Deep South ancestry and fond memories of the black nurse who was treated as a member of the family. As *Look* magazine reported on her years later, "She was one of those well-brought-up Southerners who—helped by warmly remembered master-servant friendship—later could adapt to the genuine courtesies of equality."[5]

The Depression was in full swing when she graduated in 1935, but rather than abandon her roots for sure employment in the big cities of the East, Smith decided she could have a bigger impact by plying her trade in small-town journalism. Looking for a newspaper she could afford, Smith found one "in Mississippi's Holmes County, on the edge of the Delta's bollweevil country."[6] It was 1935, and the *Durant News*, a 600-circulation weekly, was just the start she needed. The paper had lost its credibility and was in need of a fired-up editor. With a $3,000 loan, Smith was in business. Locals wagered she would not last very long, but she did. Circulation soon

more than doubled. Three years after the purchase, the *Durant News* was solvent.[7]

In 1943, Smith added to her holdings. She bought the 106-year-old *Lexington Advertiser* in the county seat and settled into offices on the south side of the courthouse square. Her front-page column, "Through Hazel Eyes," which she started at the Durant newspaper, became a permanent fixture at the weekly *Advertiser*. It was anchored in the upper left-hand corner of the page. She used the column to attack, defend, lobby, and wax eloquent on a wide range of topics. It was a catchall of the editor's opinion, and no topic was too small to warrant a few words.

Smith wrote in support of Mississippi trees in one column, and she encouraged the community in a city-sponsored, two-day rat eradication campaign in another. Two days after Christmas in 1951, she wrote that the nation had moved away from God and turned to self-reliance, which had resulted in the atomic bomb and soured relations with Europe and other parts of the world. "Dependence upon ourselves has resulted in a colossal failure," Smith concluded. "Let's give God a chance."[8]

Two weeks later, she wrote her column about Sheriff Richard Byrd's edict that all slot machines and other gambling equipment be packed up and moved out of the county. The edict, carried in full in the *Advertiser*, was the sheriff's response to what had become a menacing tangle of illegal gambling houses on busy county roads outside Lexington. Smith gave the sheriff her full support:

> There is no reason why the people of Holmes County should have to continually be embarrassed by the unfavorable publicity that we receive from the doings of people within our borders who are concerned only with one thing—making money without regard to method. The only method they reject is honest work or toil.[9]

She went on to issue a notice of her own to her growing number of readers:

> Not only do we intend to back Sheriff Byrd up with every means at our command but we are giving citizens of our county fair warning at the same time—if you do not want to be embarrassed by having your name appear in the paper when arrested at these roadside joints, it would be wise to stay away from them.[10]

After Byrd was criticized for his efforts in an editorial in the *Jackson Daily News*, the largest newspaper in the state, Smith leaped to his defense the following week:

> When Sheriff Byrd says he's going to keep on until these places are closed, we're for encouraging him a hundred percent and will do everything to back him up . . . regardless of the constitutional rights of citizens concerned. People do and should have some liberties left—but they should also have enough sense to know they can't visit a wasp's nest often without getting stung.[11]

Smith's column was not limited to local issues. When President Harry Truman issued an order that federal agencies withhold information from the public "for security reasons," she took the president to task. Calling on Truman to reverse his action, she called the presidential order "something that can be and probably will be used to cover up all kinds of inept bungling" by administrators and government bureaucrats. "It can be used to cover up all acts of commission and omission on their jobs—and thus enable them to perpetuate themselves in office."[12]

One column was written from Cairo, Egypt, where she and her husband, Walter "Smitty" Smith, went sailing on the Red Sea. Another was crafted on the balcony of her Acapulco hotel, where the Smiths were on vacation, enjoying the beaches, deep-sea fishing, and clean air "free of pollen, flies, and mosquitoes."[13]

Flamboyant And Slightly Out Of Step

Smith was a character with a style all her own. She was described by longtime friend and political columnist Bill Minor as an attractive woman with black hair and a domineering personality. "She was not a slender, blushing, Southern-type beauty, but she was a striking woman."[14] Minor remembered first meeting Smith when she was "single, footloose, and everything." They met in the summer of 1947 during the annual Mississippi Press Association Convention at the Buena Vista Hotel in Biloxi. She wore flowing chiffon dresses, and when she descended the steps of the Buena Vista, "all these country editors would ogle her with lust in their hearts."[15] She tended toward large, floppy hats and a flamboyant style, and she had a particular weakness for white Cadillac convertibles. "She was one of the few really interesting people in Mississippi journalism, in the weekly field especially."[16]

Smith was a political and social conservative, perfectly in line with other Southern newspaper editors of the time. Where she veered from the typical was that she did not advocate segregation editorially. While newspapers throughout Mississippi openly supported segregation, Smith remained silent on the subject.

She was also different in the fact that she was a woman operating in what was clearly a man's world in the South in the 1940s and 1950s. Even outside the rural South, women struggled to be accepted by their male counterparts. While a number of women were making a name for themselves, such as Lorena Hickok of the Associated Press and Mary Baker Eddy of the *Christian Science Monitor*, women "remained marginal figures in the newspaper world until passage of civil rights legislation in 1964 that outlawed discrimination in employment on the grounds of sex as well as race."[17]

Smith was well ahead of her time in the South. She was a college-educated woman in journalism with a newspaper of her own at a time when "women publishers, editors, and reporters were relatively scarce in the Mississippi press."[18]

Life as a small-town newspaper editor in Mississippi, by all indications, suited Smith. As mentioned earlier, she was traveling, commenting on local and national issues, and building a career with no apparent opposition. Then circumstances began to change. Minor said members of the Southern press in the 1950s created a frenzied climate that led to the formation of white organizations called Citizens' Councils.[19] These Councils enlisted "responsible" whites, from bankers to doctors, to band together to oppose integration following the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 unanimous decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education*.[20]

Lexington was an ideal place for a Citizens' Council because blacks outnumbered whites three-to-one in the county. "But the white power structure ran and controlled everything—business, politics, everything," Minor said. The immediate effect was fear and intimidation. Black people in the county who were believed to be in the NAACP or in favor of desegregating schools were put on the target list. "If they had a loan at the bank, the loan could be foreclosed or their credit cut off at the store. Or if they had a job someplace where the owner was connected with the Citizens' Council, they'd lose their job. Economic stranglehold, economic pressure was what they used."[21]

That was not the only approach. One former member of the Citizens' Council, who asked not to be identified, said if a black resident tried to register to vote, he was told he had to take a test "lawyers couldn't pass. If he raised a fuss, he was paid a visit." This "visit" guaranteed compliance more times than not.[22] While targeted at black citizens, the economic dragnet eventually came to include white residents who were viewed as sympathetic with blacks or the doctrine of desegregation. While Smith had never publicly supported civil rights or integration, she was about to be counted among such residents.[23]

Attacking White Authority

Around midnight on the Fourth of July weekend in 1954, Sheriff Byrd encountered a group of black men on a county road in nearby Tchula and accused one of them of "whooping." When the man denied he had whooped, he was struck by Byrd and told to "get goin.' " As the man ran from Byrd, the sheriff reportedly fired his gun several times in the man's direction, hitting him once in the left thigh.

After interviewing the victim, Henry Randle, and witnesses to the event, Smith concluded that the shooting was unprovoked.[24] Her front-page story of the incident was followed the next week by a scathing editorial, also on the front page:

> The laws in America are for everyone—rich and poor, strong and weak, white and black and all the other races that dwell within our land. These laws are based upon man's dignity as God's highest Creation (and) have a firm base in our constitution. They guarantee him certain civil rights he is entitled to as a free American citizen—rights which no peace officer or no court can deprive him of justly.[25]

Smith wrote that Byrd had been known to abuse other black residents during his tenure as sheriff, a behavior that could not go on unchecked:

> The vast majority of Holmes County people are not red necks who look with favor on the abuse of people because their skins are black. We are human beings and expect ourselves and everyone else to be treated like human beings . . . especially do we expect our law enforcement officials to do everything within their power to protect, not abuse, those with whom they deal in any circumstances. In our opinion, Mr. Byrd as Sheriff has violated every concept of justice, decency and right in his treatment of some of the people of Holmes County. He has shown us without question that he is not fit to occupy that high office. He should, in fact, resign.[26]

Byrd did not resign. Instead, he filed a libel suit against the editor, who responded in print the following week, complete with a shot of humor: "Holmes County Sheriff Richard F. Byrd is suing the writer for $57,500 damages for alleged libel. We don't know whether to be flattered at being sued for so much or surprised that the Sheriff places the value of his reputation at so little."[27] Smith wrote that truth would be her defense and that the *Advertiser* would continue pursuing the truth without fear. "No damage suit can shut us up so easily."[28]

The libel trial took place in October before an all-white jury. Smith relied on black witnesses and the testimony of a white doctor who had treated Randle, the victim. Byrd admitted hitting Randle with a "slap jack," but he denied firing any shots at him.[29] The Circuit Court jury returned a verdict in favor of Byrd and awarded him $10,000. Upon appeal to the Mississippi Supreme Court, however, the verdict was reversed.

The Pressure Becomes Organized

It must not have seemed like much of a victory. Awash in mounting legal bills, Smith was next met by a campaign to destroy her and her newspaper. The Citizens' Council, now well organized in Lexington, orchestrated an advertising boycott.[30] Local merchants, especially those who had been longtime advertisers in Smith's paper, were pressured to cooperate in the boycott.

Smith went on covering the news. She won the National Federation of Press Women's top editorial award later that same year, 1954, and she continued her leadership efforts in the Mississippi Federation of Press Women. In 1956, she won the National Editorial Association Herrick Award for her commentary "embracing the highest type of American principles and ideals."[31]

The pressure also continued, intensifying in bits and pieces. Smith's husband was fired as administrator of the county hospital, in spite of a petition signed by the entire medical staff demanding he be retained. Her house was vandalized. Someone firebombed the back of her newspaper office. Another bomb hit the *Northside Reporter*, a small weekly she owned in Jackson. After receiving several threats of injury, she began sleeping with a gun close at hand.[32] One night, she was greeted with a burning cross on her front lawn.

None of it dissuaded her from getting out the *Advertiser* on schedule, according to longtime friend Jean Carson. "She was dedicated to being an editor and to writing the truth, even if that truth got her in trouble," she said. "I always felt that she was an asset to Holmes County, even though that was unpopular at that time."[33] Carson knew a bit about the trouble firsthand. She and her husband ran a service station that advertised with Smith as the boycott picked up steam. As a result, there was a noticeable drop in the number of cars pulling up to the pumps.

Carson also worked for the Welfare Department, where the rising anger of a few white residents fell with more direct force. "I had a client who came into my office one time in the heat of all of this stuff and saw a *Lexington Advertiser* laying right there (on the desk)," she said, "and he held that paper up and he said, 'I'll tell you one thing. Anyone who would read that

paper ought to be fired today.' And I said, 'That's fine, brother. You just see about it if that's what you feel.' I was threatened a lot of times."[34]

In conjunction with the advertising boycott, members of the Citizens' Council and businessmen in the area founded a rival weekly newspaper, the *Holmes County Herald*, which eliminated most of her remaining advertising.[35] The new paper, which began publishing in February 1959, hired as its first editor Chester Marshall, the general manager of two of Smith's newspapers, the *Advertiser* and the *Durant News*.

The announcement of the new weekly prompted a front-page editorial in the *Advertiser* discussing freedom of the press and noting that the rival paper was being started by a group that "does not like the editorial policy of the *Lexington Advertiser*."[36] Smith discussed how she had been around for twenty years and had taken stands for what was right, which had brought her the enmity of some. The *Advertiser* had recorded the stories of Holmes County, the births and deaths, the good times, and the sorrow, she wrote. And she concluded with this bit of bravado, directly aimed at her new rival: "It (the *Advertiser*) will still be around to carry your obituary."[37]

Meanwhile, sixty miles to the south in Jackson, Smith's newspaper activities began drawing the scrutiny of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, an official state agency created to maintain segregation. Described by Minor as "the KGB of the cotton patches," the commission's agents spied on those they suspected of sympathizing with or assisting in efforts to integrate. On 15 December 1961, they spied on Smith.

The agents documented "a meeting" that Smith attended with Medgar Evers, Mississippi's field representative for the NAACP, and other black leaders at the office of the *Mississippi Free Press*. The report additionally accused her of printing the first edition of the *Free Press*, a black newspaper:

> We have other printed matter known to have been printed by her (Smith's) equipment in Lexington and a comparison of the print leaves very little, if any, doubt that this edition of the Mississippi Free Press was printed on the same press or by the same equipment.[38]

Smith later indicated that she was printing the *Free Press* on a contract basis and that she had no hand in its content. She also said there was no "meeting" at the *Free Press* office. She had stopped there to deliver copies of the paper.[39] In a front-page editorial headlined "Personal and Press Freedom are at Stake," Smith put the focus back on the Citizens' Council and its campaign of fear:

> This greatest of all nations was not built by men who were afraid. The Magnolia State was not carved out of a wilderness by the fearful and

timid. And we cannot live and truly progress in today's atmosphere of fear—an atmosphere engendered by the Citizens' Council and its professional agitators who apparently are now running our state and setting its policies, even to the point of intimidating the Legislature.[40]

By early 1960, the effect of the advertising boycott and the presence of the *Herald* began to be felt. A review of the *Advertiser* found that the drop in display ads—which had started gradually—took a precipitous drop once the *Herald* was established. Smith's paper turned more and more to house ads to fill in the space. One full-page house ad celebrated Smith's twenty-five years of service to Holmes County, complete with a photo of the editor at the typewriter and text discussing her contributions to the county. Also missing were legal notices, a revenue mainstay that had been part of the *Advertiser* for nearly two decades. The city moved those to the *Herald.* In May 1960, another contract was lost. The Board of Supervisors awarded a two-year contract for office supplies and printing to the *Herald.*

Her Plight Is Noticed As The Struggles Mount

Still, Smith was surviving, thanks, in part, to a few out-of-state advertisements that had trickled in. An organization known as Moral Re-Armament bought a three-quarters-page ad on 9 February 1961, and on 20 April 1961, and followed those with a full-page ad on 26 October 1961. One week earlier, on 19 October 1961, the *St. Petersburg Times* bought a full-page ad saluting Smith's twenty-five years of newspapering. The ad included an editorial on freedom.

Aside from her enemies, others were noticing Smith's ongoing struggles. She received the 1960 Elijah Parrish Lovejoy Award for Courage in Journalism, given by Southern Illinois University's journalism department. The award cited Smith's long-running battle against groups trying to destroy her newspaper by economic boycotts and personal intimidation.

It was as if she now faced two worlds. The world of newspapers and the embrace of newspaper people were contrasted by the deepening social isolation in her beloved Lexington. Gone were the Cadillacs and flamboyancy of her life as the financial picture worsened, but Smith clung to the notion that truth was the journalist's highest creed. The best obtainable version of the truth was what reporters and editors owed their readers, regardless of the personal consequences.

That search for the truth again sent Smith into a complicated story in the spring of 1963. The home of a black man in Holmes County was bombed and shot upon. The man had earlier attempted to register to vote.

Three gasoline bombs were used in the attack. The victim, Hartman Turnbow, later was arrested and charged with arson of his own home.[41] Smith's outrage could hardly be contained. It erupted in an editorial on 16 May 1963, under the headline "Arrest of Bombing Victim is Grave Disservice."[42] In the comment, Smith discussed how Turnbow, his wife and his sixteen-year-old daughter were asleep in the early hours of the morning when they were roused by explosions and fled their house as shots rang out. By nightfall, Turnbow was in custody. Smith blamed the attack and arrest on the deteriorating conditions in and about Lexington:

> This kind of situation would never have come about in Holmes County if we had honestly discharged our duties and obligations as citizens in the past; if we had demanded that all citizens be accorded equal treatment and protection under the law. This we have not done. But if we think the present situation is serious, as indeed it is, we should take a long, hard look at the future. It can, and probably will, get infinitely worse—unless we have the necessary character and guts to do something about it—and change the things that need to be changed.[43]

Smith's prophesy came true a few weeks later. A black Holmes County man by the name of Alfred Brown was shot and killed by two white Lexington police officers. The editor decried the shooting as "senseless" in an editorial that accompanied the story about the incident.[44] Her editorial was met by an anonymous commentary about Smith the following week. A pamphlet popped up inside the courthouse in Lexington claiming that Smith was leading an integration movement. Distributed by the Citizens' Council from its headquarters in Greenwood, the "smear sheet"—as Smith characterized it—had a cartoon of the editor above the cutline "Holmes County Savior."

If not for her personal fortitude and the close relationships she maintained with a handful of friends, as well as her husband Smitty—who was her best friend and associate—Smith might have easily abandoned the track upon which she found herself. She was socially ostracized, vilified, and threatened. She was losing ground financially. The heat was constantly raised, never lowered, with the single goal of driving her out of business. And yet she stayed the course, pursing the brand of journalism she believed she owed Holmes County residents.

While the price she was paying became increasingly severe, it had its special moments. One came to her in July 1963. Smith won the Golden Quill Editorial Award from the International Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors for her May editorial on bombing victim Turnbow. Her piece was selected from among 15,000 editorials that were considered from twenty states and foreign countries.

Another—even better—came to her at home one day in May 1964. A phone call found her away from the office but at work among waist-high stacks of newspapers in her living room. The caller put it simply: Smith had been awarded the Pulitzer Prize for editorial commentary. The Turnbow piece was the centerpiece of the editorials that were lauded by the committee.[45]

The accolades poured in. Editorials in other newspapers praised her convictions. Fellow Mississippi press brethren closed ranks behind her. She was invited by NBC News Director Rex Goad to cover the Mississippi GOP delegation to the National Republican Convention in San Francisco in July. The National Council of Women of the United States presented her with its "Woman of Conscience" Award in October. She attended a dinner at the White House.

At home, though, nothing changed. The community did not embrace her, let alone recognize the honor. In fact, one month after winning journalism's most prestigious award, Smith's eight-page newspaper carried only three paid ads. It was down to two the next month. By contrast, the *Holmes County Herald* ran an eight-page edition on 23 July with eighteen paid ads and the legal notices once carried exclusively in the *Advertiser*.

The End Approaches Quickly

Somehow, she carried on. Smith wrote more and more stories and columns about civil rights workers, church burnings, the loss of freedom in the Magnolia State, and what she considered to be the double standard of justice for black and white defendants. She formalized the editorial page in the *Advertiser*, running an anchored editorial on page two every week, along with other standard features, such as guest editorials. But her front-page column remained the same, dominating the cover from its upper left-hand position where a line drawing of a young Smith had become as familiar as the newspaper's banner.

To help with expenses, Smith sold the *Northside Reporter* to Bill Minor for $5,000. She received some financial assistance from sympathetic out-of-state editors, and she sold a tract of county land she and Smitty had purchased as an investment. She had long before given up her Cadillac for a Rambler. All of that, plus a new mortgage on her spacious home, kept her business afloat—but barely. A scarcity of paid advertising over the next decade limited her travels and the number of employees in her newsroom.

Then the unthinkable happened in 1983. The man upon whom she leaned for strength and sanity, who shared her successes and her sufferings, who shaped her life and her love, fell from a ladder and died. Smitty, who was always there and always positive, was now gone, and Smith was ex-

pected to somehow continue. "She started going down at that point," Minor noted. The business slipped further. Alzheimer's slowly set in. Everything that was familiar to her began to grow fuzzy. She couldn't figure it out, couldn't understand why she was forgetting things. "She'd park around the Square and she couldn't remember where her car was."[46]

The debts mounted. Some were forgiven; others were not. Eventually, the bank foreclosed on the last bit of privacy and dignity that she owned. Her house was taken from her, leaving her with nothing but the remnant of a career started more than forty years earlier and now brought to an unceremonious end.

Smith closed the newspaper after the 19 September 1985, issue. Nothing was written about her departure. She left Lexington and moved in with her sister Bonnie Geer in Gadsden, Alabama. After her sister's death, Smith's niece Mary Betancourt took her to Cleveland, Tennessee, where she entered the Royal Care Nursing Home.

In April 1994, ABC broadcast a made-for-television movie about Smith's life titled "A Passion for Justice: The Hazel Brannon Smith Story." The movie was described by the *New York Times* as "almost moribund" and moving "inexorably along a predictable path."[47] It was also universally criticized by those who knew her. More fiction than fact, Carson said. Minor agreed: "The movie made it look like there was a happy ending, but there just wasn't any happy ending."[48] Smith watched the movie in silence from her nursing home room that April day. Less than a month later, on 14 May, she was dead. She was eighty. Four years after her death, Smith was honored yet again for her outstanding career. She was inducted into The University of Alabama's Communication Hall of Fame.[49]

Conclusion

The mark of any good journalist is the legacy he or she leaves behind. In Lexington, Smith's legacy is a town where blacks now hold government positions formerly reserved for whites, and an atmosphere exists where a Citizens' Council would have trouble re-emerging.

"I think Hazel Brannon Smith made a big difference," said Eatline Wright-Hart, the Holmes County circuit clerk. "Hazel Smith looked at the heart and not at the color of the skin. It didn't matter if you were Jew, Gentile, Greek, black, white – it didn't make any difference to her. People were people. And her thing was that if you were God-made, you were God-sent. Everything God made was good."[50]

Wright-Hart said she was one of several blacks who hold office in Lexington who would not have been able to had Smith not impacted the community as she did. "Attitudes have changed," she said. "Had it not been for

her, things might not be what they are now. The attitudes changed tremendously. She was one of the ones who shaped Holmes County."[51]

Smith didn't originally move to Lexington to change the community, according to Jean Carson, but it sprang from her devotion to "printing the truth and seeing that justice was done."[52] William Woo of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* put it well when he spoke posthumously of Smith at a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors: "Her courageous journalism made a difference in Lexington, in Mississippi, and in the nation."[53] Bruce Hill, the current editor and publisher of the *Holmes County Herald*, agreed that Smith's impact had been felt. "I think a lot of black people, although they won't go around praising Hazel, would agree that she was a catalyst for this community."[54]

While pursuing the truth ultimately contributed to a difficult career in journalism, Smith's commitment never wavered. Her readers deserved and received the best obtainable version of the truth. Today, Lexington, Mississippi, enjoys the fruits of that courageous career and her "steadfast adherence to her editorial duty."[55]

Endnotes

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3. Pulitzer Prize, May 1964.

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25. "The Law Should Be For All," *Lexington Advertiser*, 15 July 1954, 1.

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30. Jerry Mitchell, "Pulitzer Prize winner Hazel Brannon Smith near death," *The Clarion-Ledger*, 7 May 1994, 17A.

31. "National Thera Sigma Phi Headliners," *The Matrix Magazine*, May-June 1962, 10.

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33. Interview with Jean Carson, Lexington, Mississippi, August 1999.

34. Ibid.

35. *Newsweek*, 18 May 1964, 76.

36. *Lexington Advertiser*, 4 December 1958, 1.

37. Ibid.

38. State Sovereignty Commission affidavit, 2 January 1962.

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40. "Personal and Press Freedom are at Stake," *Lexington Advertiser*, 11 January 1962, 1.

41. *Lexington Advertiser*, 9 May 1963, 1.

42. "Arrest of Bombing Victim is Grave Disservice," *Lexington Advertiser*, 16 May 1963, 1.

43. Ibid.

44. *Lexington Advertiser*, 13 June 1963, 1.

45. Pulitzer Prize, May 1964.

46. Minor interview.

47. John J. O'Connor, "Seymour's Talents Rescue TV Movie," *New York Times*, 16 April 1994.

48. Minor interview.

49. "Late editor honored in Ala.," *The Clarion-Ledger*, State/Metro, 24 October 1998, 1.

50. Interview with Earline Wright-Hart, Lexington, Mississippi, August 1999.

51. Wright-Hart interview, February 2000.

52. Carson interview.

53. William F. Woo, Address to American Society of Newspaper Editors, Convention Proceedings, 12 February 1997.

54. Interview with Bruce Hill, Lexington Mississippi, August 1999.

55. Pulitzer Prize, May 1964.

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Book Review Editor's Note

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Books reviewed in this issue of *American Journalism* span timelines, geographical borders, and subjects. Some of them focus on war and conflict in far away places and times, while others look at domestic issues and images that have impacted society. They represent the wide variety and scope of books exploring the history of journalism. J.O. Baylen reviews a biography by J. Lee Thompson titled *Northcliffe, Press Baron in Politics, 1865-1922.* Ross Collins looks at Susan Carruthers' book on twentieth century wars titled *The Media at War: Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, and Hans Renders reviews Robert Gallately's *Backing Hitler, Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany.* Kenneth Muir reviews another book about media and war titled *The Civil War and the Press* edited by David B. Sachsman, S. Kittrell Rushing, and Debra Reddin Van Tuyll. Arthur Scherr's book titled *I Married Me a Wife: Male Attitudes Toward Women in the American Museum, 1787-1792* is reviewed by Carolyn Kitch, and Carol Sue Humphrey reviews *The Pulitzer Prize Photographs: Capture the Moment.* Rounding out the reviews is the Editor's Choice, a review of *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* by Carolyn Kitch.

THE GIRL ON THE MAGAZINE COVER: THE ORIGINS OF VISUAL STEREOTYPES IN AMERICAN MASS MEDIA
By Carolyn Kitch. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001. 252 pages.

How stereotypes develop in the mass media and their power to affect the views of many in society have been the subjects of numerous books and studies over the years. With *The Girl on the Magazine Cover, The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media*, Carolyn Kitch has added an important and fascinating chapter to this area of study in her examination of how magazine covers from generations past, in the way that they portrayed women (and often men and children), have significantly impacted current definitions of feminism, femininity, masculinity, and gender-related issues.

Kitch points out that magazines were the first mass medium to develop in the United States, and some magazines, like the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies Home Journal*, had circulations of over one million by the early 1900s. Their reach into American homes was great, and the technology of the day allowed publishers to feature high quality color reproductions of artwork on their magazines' covers, a tactic that helped identify the magazine to its audience and also to sell the magazine to readers. Artists and illustrators, well known in their day and many of whose names are widely known and respected today, were in high demand by the magazines. Notable among those whose art graced magazine covers during this period were Norman Rockwell, Charles Dana Gibson, Howard Chandler Christy, Alice Barber Stephens, James Montgomery Flagg, Coles Phillips, and J.C. Leyendecker.

Kitch provides the necessary background and history to put her analysis of magazine cover art in proper context. The "Introduction" provides a wealth of detail about the magazine industry during this period, the artists and illustrators and the type of artwork they became recognized for (the "Gibson girl," for example), in their covers and in similar work they did for advertisers, and, perhaps most useful, the changes that women's lives were undergoing at this time. She provides a good bit of discussion on the "New Woman," or the first wave of feminism, and the way this was being handled by society.

Each of the chapters in the book deals with a particular time period or a particular image of the woman that was being presented on the covers of magazines. Chapter 1, titled " From True Woman to New Woman," discusses the series of *Ladies Home Journal* covers drawn by Alice Barber Stephens titled "The American Woman." This series of six covers ran in 1897 and depicted the "places" or roles of women during this time: in religion, in motherhood, in the home, in society, in summer, and in business. Stephens' drawing titled "The Woman in Religion" features four genera-

tions of women in a bedroom scene. The eldest woman in the picture is in bed and is being read to (presumably from the Bible) by another woman. Also in the scene is another woman sitting near the bed sewing and a little girl sitting at the feet of the woman reading. The scene suggests that taking care of others, such as the elderly woman and the child, and religious instruction were two of the roles women had at this time. As the series progresses, the scenes reflect the broadening of women's places somewhat.

Very often in the cover art a "type" of woman emerged, and Kitch examines a number of these types. Chapter 3, appropriately titled "Dangerous Women and the Crisis of Masculinity," examines the illustrations of James Montgomery Flagg, Coles Phillips, J.C. Leyendecker, and others who portrayed women as creatures that might be fun to associate with, but who could not be trusted or as either good women or bad women (most notably here, as either vamps or prostitutes). One particularly illuminating image Kitch examines was the cover drawn by Coles Phillips that appeared on the cover of *Life* on August 24, 1911. It depicted one of Phillips' trademark "Fadeaway Girls" (whose clothing blended into the background) as the central figure. She is in the middle of a spider web, and caught in her web are several tiny figures of men. The drawing is appropriately named "Net Results," and suggests strongly of woman as a predatory creature who at best will use men, or at worst, devour them.

Kitch extends her analysis of images from this period beyond images of women to include the way covers portrayed men and children and women in relation to men and children. She includes a number of Norman Rockwell's covers for the *Saturday Evening Post* that depicted male children in rough, outdoorsy scenes to emphasize their growing (and much desired) masculinity and separation from all things feminine.

Perhaps even more powerful in creating stereotypes of gender roles than the magazine covers themselves was the use of the same artists and their trademark images inside the magazine to sell everything from socks to silverware. These ads, featuring the same images readers had come to expect, provided strong reinforcement for the images first planted by their use on the magazines' covers. In addition to the image, these pages also had the added impact that ad copy, the written pitch, could provide.

This work makes extensive use of archive material, which makes it a visual feast and a treasure trove of some of the enduring images in American popular culture from this bygone era. The illustrations are numerous; Kitch provides ample visual support for the conclusions she draws. It is clear that this is a topic that Kitch has exhaustively researched over many years, and the explanatory notes she provides to each chapter and her extensive bibliography of archival materials and sources provide a wealth of information in addition to her analysis itself.

This is an exceptionally fine work that has a fitting place in the study of mass media history, art, women's studies, gender studies, advertising, and popular culture. It is scholarly, yet written in a most readable fashion. Its numerous illustrations make it a sensory delight. Yet at the same time, its message is disturbing—or at least it should be. It offers compelling evidence that media images designed to sell products or to entertain the masses have the potential, and the power, to sell a lot more.

>Tamara Baldwin, Southeast Missouri State University

BACKING HITLER: CONSENT AND COERCION IN NAZI GERMANY

By Robert Gellately. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. 359 pp.

As early as the 1930s, articles on the systematic persecution of Jews and the use of concentration camps appeared without restraint in the *Völkische Beobachter*, initially the NSDAP party paper, but soon to become Germany's leading newspaper.

Since Hitler's election in 1933, the Nazi press and those papers well-disposed to the Nazis described what was going to happen to Jews, Communists, homosexuals, and other "enemies of the people." Hitler had already made his views on this matter public in *Mein Kampf* in 1925. When, eight years later, the NSDAP came to power by popular vote, the party's "spin doctors" had fully understood how easy it was to activate the widespread latent anti-Semitism. In short, *Backing Hitler* is about public opinion in Nazi Germany.

With minister of propaganda Joseph Goebbels leading the way, the Nazis worked hard to turn Germany into a country governed by modern mass media. The rulers did not bother to lend the merest semblance of legitimacy to their acts of repression. On the contrary, on 24 February 1934, newspaper editors were instructed that it was undesirable to write about criminals being "sentenced" to death. It was preferable to state simply that such a person had been "executed." The paradox of the German police state was that the Nazis understood that every radicalization had to be publicized widely in order to gain popular support.

Citizens under a dictatorship do not read the paper less often because they know it is being censured. Bearing this knowledge of Goebbels in mind, it is fascinating to investigate what the Nazis wished to bring out in the open, rather than concentrating on what information they suppressed.

Already a month after the assumption of power, the *Berliner Morgenpost*, which at the time had not yet been brought into line, ran stories on how successful the police were in hunting down Communists. In addition to the oft-quoted explanations of why the German people welcomed National Socialism with open arms (trains running on time, jobs), German papers went along with the desire to "pacify" society. Already before the opening of the concentration camp at Dachau, articles on public safety were published in the *Völkische Beobachter* that were quite explicit on the subject: *"Die Ausrottung des Kommunismus"* (8 March 1933), *"Erfolgreiche Polizeiaktionen gegen den Marxismus"* (15 March 1933).

According to the local newspaper of Dachau, the establishment of the concentration camp meant "new hope for the Dachau business world." The *Dachauer Zeitung* became increasingly enthusiastic when it became clear how much attention the camp received elsewhere in Germany. Proudly it spoke of a model concentration camp that would put Dachau on the map outside the fatherland as well. This certainly came true. The enthusiasm remained, even after reports had appeared in three local papers about camp guards executing prisoners.

Concentration camps were built rapidly all over Germany, and everywhere the population proved to be enthusiastic. A Bavarian concentration camp near Flossenbürg attracted a stream of tourists who, armed with a pair of fieldglasses, would position themselves on a hill to watch the camp below.

Before the assumption of power, the papers were full of stories about financial scandals, sexual violence, serial killers, street fighting, and even cannibalism among *Volksfremde* Germans. It was therefore not difficult to assess that public opinion would be in favor of a policy of law and order. The press depicted the new leaders as real crime fighters. Existing crimes such as "conspiracy against the state" were cleverly Nazified by changing it to "conspiracy against the race."

In the *Völkische Beobachter*, but also in the middle-class press, no effort was made to hide the fact that SA leader Ernst Röhm had been executed summarily during the so-called Night of the Long Knives in 1934. On the contrary, it was regarded as a sign of healthy power that Hitler himself had given the order to shoot about one hundred of Röhm's followers rather than allowing tiresome judges to become involved. At a rapid pace, public opinion was manipulated into supporting a murderous regime.

In speeches and newspaper articles, the Nazis said loud and clear that countless people had been locked up in concentration camps because it "was pointless to wait until they would commit or repeat their crimes." "The end of a dangerous communist," as the headline ran of a report in the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* about a prisoner who had been shot when trying to escape. It was therefore his own fault, the report more or less implied.

Robert Gellately shows that the accepted story of a political elite subjecting the entire population is in fact no more than popular myth. As war drew nearer, Hitler received more support. Every day between 10,000 and 20,000 letters telling on other people arrived at his chancellery. In many of these letters, anti-semitism was invoked to get rid of a husband, mother-in-law, or neighbor. Especially aryan Germans who already intended to divorce from their jewish spouse used this form of betrayal as a way to get out of the obligation to pay alimony. There were even letters from people who found it useful to betray themselves before anyone else would do it.

Nazi propaganda did not aim at bludgeoning the Germans into adopting certain views. On the contrary, it sought to persuade readers to tune National Socialist opinions to the ones they already had.

>Hans Renders, University of Groningen, The Netherlands

THE MEDIA AT WAR: COMMUNICATION AND CONFLICT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
By Susan L. Carruthers. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. 321 pp.

War puts to the supreme test a democracy's commitment to freedom of the press. Carruther's synthesis of wartime press research shows that those democracies most committed to free press standards have failed that test, again and again. Press control and propaganda have moved along a continuum from lies and silence—World War I—to public relations and wooing—Vietnam—but in no war have the governments of Britain or the United States considered complete freedom to be a battlefield press virtue.

Carruthers returns to that theme throughout this succinct research compendium of the late last century's wartime press research. Beginning with the 1914-18 world war, and ending with the 1991 Persian Gulf War, she analyzes the variety of press control and persuasion efforts, their effects at the time, and their influence on future war reporting. Particularly enlightening is her distillation of recent scholarship that once and for all shows the popularly-believed "lesson of Vietnam" to be a myth. Clearly, the United States media, particularly television, had little to do with America's turning against the war, and, in fact, most media generally bought the government line at least until the 1968 Tet Offensive. In any case, this supposed "lesson" has permeated military and government press control tactics for a genera-

tion. Short U.S. actions in Panama and Grenada, Britain's Falkland Islands war, and more recently the Persian Gulf War saw severe battlefield censorship undertaken by military authorities determined to avoid "another Vietnam." The "lesson," then, has had great power over implementation of contemporary wartime press control—even if it's a lie.

The author goes beyond wartime journalism to address topics not usually seen in general examinations of wartime press control, including coverage of terrorism and "other people's wars," as well as cultural influence of war movies. The book should offer an excellent resource for students and historians who want an overview of the century's wartime journalism research. What the author, a British historian from the University of Wales, fails to note explicitly, however, is that this treatment is limited mostly to the Anglo-Saxon press of Britain and the United States. The author does cover Germany's efforts during both world wars; no general treatment of the last century's wartime press controls could be adequate without such material. Beyond that, however, countries such as the Soviet Union, Italy, Japan, and France are ignored. True, every historian has to limit the scope of a work, but it might have been helpful to read an explanation of why the author stopped without at least touching these other pivotal censorship histories. At least in the case of France, the reviewer knows published research in English is reasonably easy to find!

But Carruthers relies primarily on books, with few research articles receiving bibliographic listings, and no primary sources. (The author notes the book is a synthesis of existing scholarship, but why so few research articles?) The publisher has apparently chosen to "modernize" (or save money) by using a modified APA style of in-text citations, with the addition of page numbers. Probably some readers used to footnotes will find this a bit annoying, especially when a good many are "cited by" other sources. The Vietnam discussion seems a bit disjointed, the author bringing up the topic at some length, then dropping it, and later coming back to discuss it at more length. Why not group that related material together? Nevertheless, Carruthers offers a good compendium along with helpful insights toward understanding of this critical topic in twentieth-century press history.

>Ross Collins, North Dakota State University

NORTHCLIFFE, PRESS BARON IN POLITICS, 1865-1922
By J. Lee Thompson. London: John Murray Publications, 2000. 462 pp.

In his perceptive essay on the theory and practice of Lord Northcliffe's journalism (*Media Studies* 6 (2000): 33-44), Jean Chalaby asserts that "Northcliffe's contributions to the history of the press is not as a journalist, but as a press owner who had an extraordinary understanding of the implications of journalism for the daily press...He brought the daily newspaper into the twentieth century and modernized journalism in the process..." Northcliffe's great success, notes Chalaby, can be attributed to the combination of journalistic skill and "his constant effort to discern and respond to reader's tastes..." And what made his "crusades" so effective (and annoying to the British government) was their fiercely aggressive and abrupt style. All of this and more on the fascinating career of Northcliffe are well reflected in J. Lee Thompson's addition to the several existing biographies of Alfred Charles William Harmsworth, the first Viscount Northcliffe.

Thompson's biography developed from his previous study of Northcliffe's activities during World War I (*Politicians, the Press, and Propaganda, Lord Northcliffe and the Great War, 1914-1919 [1999]*), with special emphasis on the political and propaganda aspects of his wartime career. Here Thompson vividly tells the story of a handsome lad, born in 1865, the eldest child in a large Anglo-Irish family dominated by a fiercely aggressive mother (he remained a "Mama's Boy" throughout his life) and an alcohol-prone barrister father, who within two decades became one of the most powerful forces in British journalism. Alfred Harmsworth left school at the age of sixteen and, to the dismay of his father, immediately embarked on a career in journalism, which, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, afforded great opportunities for enterprising young men. A year later, he was constrained to leave home after impregnating a young maid in the family service—the first of many amorous encounters in his life, which produced several illegitimate children.

During the ensuing two years, Harmsworth contributed articles to such periodicals as *Young Folks' Tales*, *The Cyclist*, and *Weekly Budget* and at nineteen was editor of the magazine *Youth*. A year later, he assumed the editorship of the faltering *Cycling News* and in a short time revived the journal. But this was not for the ambitious Harmsworth; with the help of his new wife, Mary Elizabeth Milner, in 1888 he established the magazine, *Answers*, patterned on George Newnes' highly successful *Tit-Bits*, and soon (as in the case of *Pluck Library*, *Comedy Cuts*, and *Home Cat*) increased its circulation from 12,000 to almost 40,000 by offering prizes and competitions to readers, thus proving his claim that the success of a journalistic endeavor depended upon the relationship established between the editor and the read-

ers. He was also demonstrating that imagination, innovation, diligence, and determining what the public desires were essential for success in the highly competitive world of journalism in late Victorian Britain. Indeed, it was not long before the journalist world and the Liberal and Conservative Unionist politicians were acknowledging Harmsworth's great success in the circulation and sales of his publications. While at first he maintained or professed a non-partisan stance, his strong imperialism and Unionist views on the Irish issue identified him with the Tory party.

Within fourteen years of his entry into journalism, Harmsworth had laid the foundation of a newspaper empire by purchasing the moribund *Evening News* in 1894 for 25,000 pounds (and within a year vastly increasing its sales and making it a profitable venture) and by establishing the highly half-penny *Daily Mail* in 1896. The great success of the attractive and easily read *Mail* and his publication empire made Harmsworth (who was viewed by some of his contemporaries as an inordinately vain and moderately intelligent man) a political force to be reckoned with by both major parties. In this direction, Thompson challenges the verity of the story that the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, scorned the *Daily Mail* as a paper "written by office boys for office boys" and notes that Salisbury acknowledged Harmsworth's importance by proposing him for membership in the Tory grandees' Carlton Club. Of course, despite his earlier affinity for the Liberal Unionists, Harmsworth has already committed himself to co-operation with the Tory party and unsuccessfully stood for Parliament as a Tory candidate in 1895.

Less successful was Harmsworth's establishment of the *Daily Mirror* in 1903, as a paper produced by and for women. Nevertheless, albeit at a loss of 100,000 pounds, he transformed the *Mirror* into a very bright pictorial paper—another lucrative device to achieve mass readership. In fact, this daring entrepreneur (as Richard Davenport-Hines has observed) was making millions "by encouraging every noodle to think their opinion mattered..." and by acting on the concept that propaganda can be "the liveliest form of discussion." Harmsworth's success and achievement was recognized by the award of a baronet in 1903, a baron in 1905, and a royal viscountcy in 1918 as Lord Northcliffe.

Meanwhile, Northcliffe continued to extend his newspaper empiring by purchasing *The Observer* in 1905 and by acquiring and reviving the almost bankrupt *Times* in 1908. Thus, by the onset of war in 1914, Northcliffe was truly a newspaper tycoon in possession of almost 50 percent of London's morning and evening newspapers and in control of approximately 15 percent of the Sunday papers sales. With control of so much of the British press, Northcliffe sought to use, with mixed results, his great power to determine how the Asquith and Lloyd George governments should prosecute the war. Here Thompson is at his best in describing Northcliffe's conduct during the 1914-1918 war. He made life miserable for the indecisive Asquith

and the wily Lloyd George on such issues as the munitions supply, the national food supply, the naval blockade of Germany, the need for conscription, the misuse of air power, and especially war strategy. A major factor in bringing about the fall of the Asquith government, Northcliffe's agitations made things worse by his persistent support of the blundering strategies of the Army's High Comand on the Western Front, by promoting an anti-German hysteria in Britain that blighted the honorable careers of the German-educated Liberal party statesman, Lord Haldane, and the German-born Admiral Lord Louis Battenburg, and by demanding the imposition of a vindictive peace settlement on Germany. Northcliffe refused to be bought off and silenced by Lloyd George's offer of a post in his Cabinet as Secretary of State for Air and by accepting an appointment to undertake a propaganda mission to the United States. He was ardently pro-American and quite proud of the fact that many of his contemporaries accused him of "Americanizing" the British press. Northcliffe's greatest disappointment was Lloyd George's refusal to include him in the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. Three years after the conference, which he vehemently denounced for being too soft on Germany and its allies, Northcliffe suffered a distressing death, mentally deranged from septic endocarditis. He left behind an enduring newspaper empire, with its flagship *Daily Mail*, run (less ably) by members of his family, which still flourishes and often uses his methods to harry governments (mostly left-wing) they oppose.

Thompson's portrait is based on solid research and is replete with keen insights. It is certainly the best biography of this very able megalomaniac press baron and makes us very wary of such contemporary magnates as Conrad Black and Rupert Murdoch.

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THE PULITZER PRIZE PHOTOGRAPHS: CAPTURE THE MOMENT
By Cyma Rubin and Eric Newton, eds. Arlington, VA: Newseum, 2000. 208 pp.

A well-known old saying states that "a picture is worth a thousand words." Journalists have long agreed with this statement and have included "pictures" of all sorts as part of their work for nearly two hundred years. The rise of photography in the mid-nineteenth century made the use of pictures in news stories even easier. As a result, photographs have become a

staple ingredient in news coverage of any important event. The growing importance of photography was emphasized by the Pulitzer Prize Committee when they began recognizing the best of news photography in 1942. In *The Pulitzer Prize Photographs: Capture the Moment*, the staff of the Newseum makes these award-winning photographs easily accessible to the modern-day reader. This volume contains many of the best photographs from the second half of the twentieth century. Reflecting both momentous international events and moving personal moments, this collection shows the best of the best, the "indelible images that in coming centuries will inevitably be used as flashbacks to illustrate the triumphs and tragedies of our era" (p. 5).

A dominant theme of the photographs is the horror and destructiveness of war. Included are shots from World War II, Korea, Vietnam, Somalia, Kosovo, and various civil wars scattered all over the globe. Famous photographs such as the raising of the flag on Iwo Jima during World War II and the shooting of the Viet Cong by a South Vietnamese military officer are published along with lesser-known pictures of American troops in Vietnam resting after a battle and shots of refugees from numerous wars all over the world. The volume also includes famous pictures from the American domestic scene as well. Well-known images included are the shooting of Lee Harvey Oswald by Jack Ruby, the aftermath of the attempted assassination of President Ronald Reagan by John W. Hinckley, Jr., and a fireman carrying the body of a little girl from the bombed Murrah building in Oklahoma City. But the collection also includes photographs of the neighborhood down the street, such as a policeman stopping a boy from running into the street, a woman falling from a burning building as the fire escape gives way, and the covered body of a young boy killed by a car while trying to cross the street. All of these pictures, whether of events of world significance, reflect the realities of life in the modern world.

But this volume goes beyond the photographs to provide more for the interested reader. Included with each picture is a discussion by the photographer about how they got the "perfect shot." Some discuss the detailed planning involved in their efforts while others reflect on how accidental the entire process had been. All of these are great photographs, but the process of catching the "great shot" is unique and special every time. Also included in the back of the book are brief biographies of all the people whose work appears in the publication. The result is a better understanding of the intricacies of expertise and luck that go together to make a great photographer who can regularly produce fantastic pictures.

This book, based on the Newseum's 2000-2001 exhibit of Pulitzer-Prize-winning pictures, is an excellent introduction to great news photography. As is true with the Pulitzer Prize itself, this volume allows the reader to ponder great pictures and to think about the stories behind the images. The book provides a good overview of the history of such prize-winning shots.

It should be of interest not only to journalism scholars, but also to anyone interested in the history of great photography.

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"I MARRIED ME A WIFE": MALE ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN IN THE AMERICAN MUSEUM, 1787-1792
By Arthur Scherr. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 1999. 185 pp.

This book is a close examination of the content of the *American Museum*, a Philadelphia magazine published and edited by Mathew Carey for five years, as evidence of men's opinions of women's nature and roles in the post-Revolutionary War period. Its goal, as stated in the introductory chapter reviewing the literature in women's media history, is to correct the impression made by female historians who "condemn all males as misogynists" (13). The author—Arthur Scherr, a history professor at Medgar Evers College of the City University of New York—challenges feminist scholars' characterization of 18th-century journalism as (and this is the wording of his own summary) "a deliberate male effort to dominate [women] by instilling feelings of insecurity, inferiority, and low self-esteem" (17), contending instead that Carey's magazine was an important example of male journalists' approval of and admiration for women of the new republic.

In subsequent chapters, the author provides many examples from the magazine's text, with depth and variety that make for interesting reading. Yet the logic by which he interprets this material is shaky. His examples of articles that praise women's moral virtue do support his main point, but they also reinforce, rather than contradict, the views of other historians on women's public status in this era (particularly Linda Kerber's notion of the ideal of the "Republican Mother," which is among the work against which Scherr positions his study). In Scherr's interpretation of the magazine's content (and its writers' intentions), he equates flattery with feminism, as in this typical passage:

> Although feminists tend to present the eighteenth century as a period of patriarchy and female repression, judging from the essays appearing in the *American Museum* there was a good deal of discussion about positive female attributes. . . . [one] author praises women's superior creativ-

> ity and imagination, as well as the proverbial intuition which renders them natural philosophers. Women's conversation was much more interesting and original than men's. "As to gracefulness of expression, it belongs almost exclusively to women," though unfortunately there were few female authors. Women had strong and powerful insights about life and morality. They were both more "chaste" and "charming" than men. Their facility in language was "brilliant." Their judgment, conducted by means of intuition rather than reason, was invariably correct and revealed an innate intelligence . . . .(61)

The author makes a similar leap in logic in his assessment of a series in which a male author discusses sexual passion and cautions readers that "what is easily obtained is little valued." From that comes this interpretation: "Once again, we see male authors with feminist inclinations, taking a woman-centered stance at a time when historians tell us they unanimously propounded ideas of woman's inferiority and subjection. Moreover, rather than depicting women as mothers and homemakers . . . the *American Museum* chose to print (or reprint) essays which centered on their role as sociable and sexual beings" (132). Scherr sees feminist commentary even in the printing of negative stereotypes of women, arguing that the presence of such material in the magazine demonstrated Carey's understanding of the need for discussion of "society's" unfair views of women. One example is his treatment of the article that yields the book's title quote, about a virtuous and frugal farmer who "married me a wife . . . a very good working young woman" who nevertheless drove him to bankruptcy through her love of finery for herself and their daughters: "Presumably," Scherr writes of the women in this story (excusing its author of responsibility for its moral), "they are corrupted by the materialistic ethos of a mercantile, urban, white male-dominated society" (52).

In the end, Scherr fails to make the broad case he starts with—that a generation of female scholars doing work in women's history have unfairly maligned male journalists of the past. In its extensive quotation of the *American Museum*'s articles, the book does provide an interesting look at social commentary during a historical period when the balance of political and social power between men and women in the new republic was still very much in flux. And in a graduate media-history class, this book could provoke a spirited discussion about the process of interpreting primary sources in order to assess the intent of their authors. It most likely will not be used much in classrooms, though, given the high ($60) price of this slim hardcover edition.

> Carolyn Kitch, Temple University

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE PRESS
By David B. Sachsman, S. Kittrell Rushing, and Debra Reddin Van Tuyll, eds. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999. 584 pp.

In the preface to Brayton Harris' excellent book *Blue and Gray in Black and White*, Harris notes that since the end of the war more than 135 years ago, there has been, on average, one journal article or book written on the war every day. It would seem, therefore, that little remains to be written on the conflict. The collection *The Civil War and the Press* helps dispel that notion with authority.

This elclectic anthology is a welcome addition to the limited collection of works concerning the press' role in forming public opinion during the early years of the nation and its burgeoning mass media. As such, this is a friendly, yet critical review of Sachsman, et al.

The collection of thirty-three essays is arranged in three parts: Setting the Agenda for the Secession and War, In Time of War, and Reconstructing a Nation. Each section has its strengths and weaknesses, but the broad range of topics covered more than adequately compensates for the weaknesses. The works are part of a series of on-going Antebellum and Civil War Press and Freedom of Expression conferences held at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga from 1993-1997.

The editors seek to address many questions in this collection. Key among them are the influences of the antebellum press on public opinion (the authors' conclusion: it was significant), and the diversity of the press in these early days (conclusion: much more diverse than originally thought by many). As a side note, the editors recognize the early press' impact on such "modern day" theories as agenda-setting and uses and gratifications research. It is this former issue which is addressed first.

Part One. Setting the Agenda for Secession and War.

In this section thirteen essays approach the issue of the agenda-setting function of the press. Central among them are the commonly reported issues of racism, John Brown's raid, and the secession. A pleasant surprise, however, is how the introduction of issues of religion and feminism complicated the above-mentioned common Civil War themes.

David A. Copeland writes, for example, in "Preserving a Denomination: The Promotion of Women by North Carolina's Antebellum Baptist Press," that editors made concerted efforts to include stories of interest to women. These editors, Copeland argues, reported women's issues beyond that of routine household duties to women's role in passing on religious culture and saving local denominations. Religion's role in support of, or opposition to, slavery and secession, obviously, cannot be understated and Copeland addresses it well.

It is in this first section that one of the first weak entries in this collection is included. S. Kittrell Rushing's piece on "Agenda-Setting in Antebellum East Tennessee" begins as an appealing effort to tie twentieth-century agenda-setting theory to nineteenth-century culture and press readership. This alone is an interesting proposition, yet Rushing never offers the reader any hypothesis; some tables are mislabeled and presented in a confusing manner; and, conclusions are reached based on never-stated hypotheses. The study could have been strengthened with a more systematic qualitative analysis rather than the somewhat strained attempt at quantitative analysis.

This criticism is not, per se, of Rushing's piece. Rather, it is a personal bias against conference-generated essays that may circumvent the usual review process, as can be seen in the re-publication of David Mindich's "Edwin Stanton, the Inverted Pyramid, and Information Control" (originally published in *Journalism Monographs* in August 1993). Both, however, are minor issues that certainly do not detract from the overall usefulness of the collection.

Part Two. In Time of War.

In this section, sixteen essays address issues including the above-mentioned Mindich piece on the inverted pyramid (arguably one of the best in the book), women in advertising, and anti-Semitism. It is to Mindich's piece I now turn.

Mindich's piece, written while he was a graduate student in 1993 at New York University, was one of the original invited selections that began the annual conference. In it, Mindich argues quite successfully that journalists were not the original "inventors" of the inverted style of newspaper writing. Rather, it was Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, dispatching news of the president's assassination who created the style. It is an important and persuasive work that, despite the afore-mentioned re-publication issues, deserves a re-reading by serious students of journalism history.

Next, Barbara Strauss Reed offers three examinations of the Jewish press during the Civil War with an outstanding analysis of the competition between Isaac Leeser's *The Occident* and Isaac Mayer Wise's *The Israelite.*

Reed's third piece dealing with General U.S. Grant's Order No. 11 expelling all Jews from the Department of Tennessee is extraordinary. Lincoln did, of course, quickly rescind the order, but the impact of the order on Leeser and Wise was exceptional, according to Reed. The two editors' reactions to the anti-Semitic order via the platform of their respective newspapers personified the depth to which many Jewish immigrants embraced their adopted country's ideals of fairness and equality when faced with issues of blatant discrimination.

Part Three. Reconstructing a Nation.

In the final, and shortest section, the editors draw together five strong essays dealing with issues ranging from reconstruction and suffrage for freedmen to how Missouri journalists framed Jesse James.

Kenneth Rystrom's "Suffrage for Freedmen: The Specter of *Dred Scott*" systematically addresses the strategies adopted by Southern conservative newspaper editors as they struggled to accept the fact that freedom would one day gain a modicum of political power. Rystrom concludes that in the years following the end of the war, conservatives began the long trek toward regaining the power they once held by recognizing, agonizingly so for many, that the specter of Dred Scott was again haunting the American political and social scene. That specter, to paraphrase Rystrom, would keep many former slaves from realizing their full enjoyment of freedom and equality for years to come.

Finally, Cathy Jackson, in "Wanted Dead or Alive: How Nineteenth Century Missouri Journalists Framed Jesse James," details the role of reconstruction newspapers in creating the myth of Jesse James. The time was convenient, for James at least, for a friendly southern press to find a hero in the wake of northern interlopers and carpetbaggers. Jackson's conclusion of the press' role as idol-maker in this modern era of spin doctors is fitting, prophetic, and an apt conclusion to this useful book.

Whether secessionist or Union loyalist, the press played an important role in shaping public opinion and its influence cannot be understated or underestimated. Scholars of the history of journalism and mass media, and the Civil War student will find this text a valuable resource. Teachers will find this a useful reader for upper-division undergraduate courses and graduate-level ones.

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